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A MORMON EPISODE: THE WAR OF 1857.

IN his report under date of December 5, 1857, the Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, brought in a long bill of serious charges against the Mormons of Utah. "From the first hour they fixed themselves in that remote and almost inaccessible region of our territory," he says, "from which they are now sending defiance to the sovereign power, their whole plan has been to prepare for a successful secession from the authority of the United States and a permanent establishment of their own. They have practiced an exclusiveness unlike anything ever before known in a Christian country, and have inculcated a jealous distrust of all whose religious faith differed from their own. . . . This Mormon brotherhood has scarcely preserved the semblance of obedience to the authority of the United States for some years past; not at all, indeed, except as it might confer some direct benefit upon themselves, or contribute to circulate public money in their community. Whenever it suited their temper or caprice, they have set the

United States authority at defiance. Of late years, a well grounded belief has prevailed that the Mormons were instigating the Indians to hostilities against our citizens, and were exciting amongst the Indian tribes a feeling of insubordination and discontent." The government had always practiced forbearance towards this disorderly and mischievous element. "This forbearance," continues the Secretary, "might still be prolonged, and the evils rife amongst them be allowed to work out their own cure, if this community occupied any other theater, isolated and remote from the seats of civilization, than the one they now possess. But, unfortunately for these views, their settlements lie in the great pathway which leads from our Atlantic states to the new and flourishing communities growing up upon our Pacific seaboard. They stand a lion in the path; not only themselves defying the military and civil authorities of the government, but encouraging, if not exciting, the nomad savages who roam over the

vast unoccupied regions of the continent to the pillage and massacre of peaceful and helpless emigrant families traversing the solitudes of the wilderness. The rapid settlement of our Pacific possessions; the rights in those regions of emigrants unable to afford the heavy expenses of transit by water and the isthmus; the facility and safety of military, commercial, political and social intercommunication between our eastern and western populations and States, all depend upon the prompt, absolute, and thorough removal of a hostile power besetting this path midway of its route, at a point where succor and provisions should always be found, rather than obstruction, privation, and outrage."*

The government accordingly, in the year 1857, determined to assume a more direct oversight of affairs in Utah. To this end a governor and other territorial officers were appointed, and a small military force was assigned to escort them to Great Salt Lake City. At the same time pains were taken to assure the Mormons of the peaceful mission of the troops, and the commander of the force was instructed to avoid any collision with the Mormons, and only to act as a *posse comitatus* in enforcing obedience to the laws, in case he should be called on by the governor for that purpose.

Notwithstanding all these assurances, "flagrant acts of rebellion"

continued to be committed by the Mormons. Captain Stewart Van Vliet had been sent forward to assure the Mormons of the pacific and friendly intentions of the government, and to purchase certain stores for the use of the troops. He left Fort Leavenworth on the 30th of July, 1856, and arrived at Great Salt Lake City in about thirty days of travel. He had proceeded, he reports, as fast as it was possible to do with six mule wagons. During his progress towards Utah he met many people from that territory who assured him that he would not be allowed to enter Utah, or if he did enter the territory, he would run great risk of losing his life. "I treated all this," says the gallant captain, "as idle talk, but it induced me to leave my wagons and escort at Ham's fork, 143 miles this side of the city, and proceed alone." The officer, however met with no molestation, and reached the city unharmed. He at once called upon Brigham Young, the Mormon governor of Utah, and was by him and all others with whom he came in contact, treated with great hospitality and kindness. He found the Mormons firmly resolved to oppose the progress of the United States troops. Brigham Young complained that they had been persecuted and murdered in Missouri and Illinois, and they "had determined to resist all persecution at the commencement, and that the troops now on the march for Utah should not enter the Great Salt Lake Valley." Though there was abundance of all such stores as

* Message and Documents, 1857-8. Part 2.

the troops might need, they refused absolutely to sell anything to the government.

Captain Van Vliet in conversation with Young and other influential men of the Territory, told them that they might be able to prevent the small force that was then on the march from getting through the narrow mountain passes for the present; but that if so, the government the next year would send out a force that would be sufficient to overcome all resistance. To this the Mormons made reply: "We are aware that such will be the case; but when those troops arrive they will find Utah a desert; every house will be burned to the ground, every tree cut down, and every field laid waste. We have three years' provisions on hand, which we will 'cache,' and then take to the mountains, and bid defiance to all the powers of the government." Also at a Sunday service at which Capt. Van Vliet was present, in the course of a sermon by Elder Taylor, the preacher referred to the approach of the United States troops, and asked how many of those present would be willing to apply the torch to their own dwellings and lay waste their fields, when every individual in a congregation of over 4,000 persons held up his hand as a sign of his willingness. From all the facts Capt. Van Vliet was satisfied that the Mormons would attempt to resist the passage of the United States troops through the narrow mountain defiles into the Territory of Utah.

The expedition to Utah was put

under the command of Col. Albert Sydney Johnston, the accomplished officer who afterwards fell on the wrong side at the battle of Shiloh. On the 29th of September he reports having just crossed the south fork of the Platte river. A portion of the small army was in advance. On the 9th of October, Col. E. B. Alexander was at Camp Winfield, Utah Territory, about thirty miles northwest of Fort Bridger, with a detachment of the army. Here he received letters from Brigham Young and Daniel H. Wells, "Lieut.-General commanding Nauvoo Legion." The latter stated that he was on the ground "to aid in carrying out the instructions of Gov. Young." In his letter Young claims to be still the Governor of the Territory by virtue of act of Congress, passed September 9, 1850, organizing the Territory of Utah, "no successor having been appointed and qualified as provided by law," and as he had not been removed from his office by the President of the United States. It was by virtue of this authority that he issued his proclamation, forbidding the entrance of armed forces into the Territory. His proclamation to the people of Utah was inflammable. "We are invaded," he says, "by a hostile force, who are evidently assailing us to accomplish our overthrow and destruction. For the last twenty-five years we have trusted officials of the Government, from constables and justices to judges, governors and presidents, only to be scorned, held in derision, insulted and betrayed. Our

houses have been plundered and then burned, our fields laid waste, our principal men butchered while under the pledged faith of the Government for their safety, and our families driven from their homes to find that shelter in the barren wilderness, and that protection among hostile savages which were denied them in the boasted abodes of Christianity and civilization. . . . The issue which has thus been forced upon us compels us to resort to the great first law of self-preservation, and stand in our own defence: a right guaranteed to us by the genius of the institutions of our country, and upon which the government is based.

"Our duty to ourselves—to our families—requires us not to tamely submit to be driven and slain without an attempt to preserve ourselves. Our duty to our country—our holy religion—our God—to freedom and liberty—requires that we should not quietly stand still and see those fetters forging around us which are calculated to enslave and bring us in subjection to an unlawful military despotism such as can only emanate, in a country of constitutional law, from usurpation, tyranny and oppression."

The Mormons did not content themselves with mere threats. On the 4th of October, 1857, they captured and burned, on Green river, three government supply trains, consisting of seventy-five wagons loaded with provisions and tents for the army, and carried away several hundred ani-

mals. By this act the troops were put to great inconvenience and hardship. In his report dated December 6th, 1858, the Secretary of War mentions, among their traitorous and rebellious proceedings, the following: "They not only proclaimed martial law in that Territory without a pretext, but against every principle of justice, of law, and of the Constitution. They embodied their whole force of effective men and kept them constantly drilled and under arms, hovering about our encampment, seeking a favorable moment, if one should ever offer itself, to cut off and destroy the whole command. They fortified the narrow mountain passes leading towards the town and chief settlements where they reside, and collected from remote neighborhoods all the deluded people belonging to their sect. Every preparation which indicated a spirit of determined hostility, of rebellion, of treason and war, characterized these people in every action, and nothing but menace and defiance towards the United States authorities ever fell from the lips of their chief impostor or any of his confederates."* Under such circumstances nothing remained for the Government to do but to put them down with a strong hand. Reinforcements were raised, and the army in Utah, in the spring of 1858, amounted to 5,608 officers and men.

The headquarters of the army for the winter of 1857-8 were at Camp

* Message and Documents, 1858-9, Part 2.

Scott, in Utah Territory. Military operations were greatly embarrassed by the condition of the animals. Many draught mules had died, and others had been injured or run down by over-work. In his report to his chief, Lieutenant Burns, regimental quartermaster, complained that most of the teamsters "drove team for the first time, and were required to break in young and wild mules, which resulted, in many cases, in broken limbs or dead animals. Nearly all of them lacked fitness or interest for the service, experience in its details, regularity and industry in its duties and honesty in its responsibilities." To repair these losses, on the 27th of November, 1857, Capt. R. B. Marcy, of the Fifth Infantry, set out with a detachment of forty men for New Mexico to procure a number of horses and mules. It was a most arduous journey. On the 1st day of January he arrived at Taos, in New Mexico. His march had lain directly across the mountains, through the Couchetopa Pass. He reported that for upwards of two hundred miles he had made his way through deep snow. His men had suffered extremely from cold and the labor of breaking their way through the hard-packed snow. He had lost but one man on the way. There was much uneasiness in regard to his return to headquarters, as the Mormons had threatened to attack his small party, and stampede the animals. The military commander in New Mexico was therefore requested to send a sufficient escort with Cap-

tain Marcy to insure his safety against the enemy. He arrived at Camp Scott with the required animals, "all well and in good condition," on the 11th of June, 1858.

As the spring advanced, and the United States army began preparations for more active service, the Mormons gradually cooled their ardor. In March, Brigham Young ranted a good deal about the probability that they should again consign their prosperity to flames and waste, and renew their wanderings. "If we vacate the ground," said he, "that may satisfy them; but if they undertake to come in before we are ready, we will send them to their long home." However they contrived to be "ready" by the time the government was prepared to enter.

Governor Cumming had preceded the army, and on April 15th, 1858, he addressed a letter to Col. Johnston from the "Executive office, Great Salt Lake City." In this letter he states that he had arrived safe, and that he had been everywhere recognized as the Governor of Utah, and so far from having encountered insults or indignities, he had been "universally greeted with respectful attentions." He stated also that Brigham Young had called upon him, and that the ex-governor had evinced a willingness to afford him every facility for the efficient performance of his administrative duties. By the latter part of May all opposition on the part of the Mormons had melted away. On the 21st of that month the governor wrote:

"After a careful investigation, I am gratified in being able to inform you that I believe there is at present no organized armed force of its inhabitants in any part of this Territory, with the exception of a small party subject to my orders, in or near Echo Canon." On the 6th of April, President Buchanan by proclamation offered "a free and full pardon" to all the inhabitants of Utah who should submit to the laws. On the 14th day of June, Gov. Cumming proclaimed in the name of the President, that, "Whereas, the proffered pardon was accepted, with the prescribed terms of the proclamation," all persons who had submitted to the laws were "freely and fully pardoned for all treasons and seditions heretofore committed." On the 16th of June, the army was put in motion for the Salt Lake Valley. The inhabitants deprecated the approach of the troops. The strongest assurance by Col. Johnston could not quiet their fears. On the 26th of June, the army arrived at Salt Lake City. "I found the city abandoned," wrote Col. Johnston, "except by a few persons engaged in guarding the property and keeping the gardens in good order. I understand that the citizens will return in a few days." The people had retired to Provo, a town about fifty miles south of Salt Lake City. Upon assurance from Col. Johnston and the commissioners who had been sent out by the President, they returned to the latter place. "It was the intention of the people," the commissioners re-

ported, "if a peaceable adjustment had not been made, to have burned their homes, destroyed the growing crops, and retreated to the mountains on the approach of the enemy. With this view they had removed their women and children, and their household and personal property from the city and settlements north of it, to the southern part of the Territory, and had stored large quantities of grain and provisions in the mountains." The troops went into camp in Cedar Valley, thirty-six miles south of Salt Lake City. The camp took the name of Camp Floyd. A portion of the troops were detached on other service or discharged, and the remainder went into permanent quarters here, both for the purpose of controlling the Indians, who had become troublesome, and to support the authority of the Government until matters should become finally settled.

Thus the Mormon difficulty that at one time was ominous of strife and bloodshed, was smoothed away. In his annual Message to Congress the President said: "The present condition of the Territory of Utah, when contrasted with what it was one year ago, is a subject for congratulation. It was then in a state of open rebellion, and, cost what it might, the character of the Government required that this rebellion should be suppressed and the Mormons compelled to yield obedience to the Constitution and the laws. . . . I am happy to inform you that the governor and other civil officers of Utah are now per-

forming their appropriate functions without resistance. The authority of the Constitution and the laws has

been fully restored, and peace prevails throughout the Territory."*

T. J. CHAPMAN.

* Message and Documents. 1858-9. Part. 1.

THE CONNECTICUT RESERVE.

LETTERS of inquiry from men of other States, asking the meaning of the Connecticut Western Reserve, and the fact that so few of our own citizens fully understand that it is historic ground, for which nations and States have contended for centuries, has induced the writer to prepare the following epitomized sketch :

Ownership of the Connecticut Western Reserve has been claimed by England, France and Spain. The history of the North-western Territory commences in 1785, at the time of the treaty of the United States with the Indians at Fort McIntosh, near Beaver, Philadelphia. The history of the Connecticut Western Reserve goes back to 1662. By the treaty of 1785, the United States acquired all the territory northwest of the Ohio river and east of the Cuyahoga river, Portage Path and Tuscarawas. By this purchase from the Indians, the United States claimed to own the whole territory, but the State of Connecticut had a charter granted by Charles II., of England, in 1662, conveying to that State, when a colony, the territory bounded by the south line of Massachusetts on the north, and extending to Long Island Sound on

the south, and from the Narragansett river on the east to the Pacific ocean on the west. These boundaries included not only what is now called Connecticut, but a portion of New York, New Jersey, nearly one-half of Pennsylvania, the northern part of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, parts of Kansas, Nebraska, Utah, Oregon and California. The Indians, who were the rightful owners of this territory, were never consulted. King Charles assumed he had a right to it, and granted a charter of it to Connecticut. Later he granted a charter to his brother, the Duke of York, for what is now the State of New York, and one to William Penn for what is now Pennsylvania. Both of these charters cut entirely across the territory previously granted to Connecticut, and a long controversy followed between Connecticut, the Duke of York and William Penn, which was continued until 1664, when it was decided by commissioners appointed by the King for that purpose. These commissioners decided that Connecticut had no right to the territory embraced in the Patent or Charter of the Duke of York.

Although compelled to submit to

this decision, Connecticut insisted on her claim west of New York, including Northern Pennsylvania. In 1781, Pennsylvania and Connecticut appointed commissioners to settle the dispute, and an Act of Congress was passed, granting to these commissioners full power to act, and make a final settlement. The commissioners met at Trenton, New Jersey, in 1782, and on a full hearing decided that Connecticut had no right to the territory in dispute, but that it belonged to Pennsylvania. To avoid all further controversy, in 1786, Connecticut, by her Representatives in Congress, proposed to cede all her lands west of Pennsylvania to the United States, excepting a Reserve of 120 miles west of Pennsylvania and north of latitude 44 degrees. This proposition was accepted and the long controversy settled.

The Connecticut Western Reserve, 120 miles long and 52 miles wide, contains about the same area as the State of Connecticut. This Reserve was divided into twelve counties, viz., Ashtabula, Trumbull, Mahoning, Geauga, Lake, Portage, Summit, Medina, Lorain, Erie, Huron and Cuyahoga.

Spain claimed the vast territory of which Portage county is a part, by virtue of the discovery of the south end of the continent, called Florida, by Ponce de Leon in 1512, and a gift of confirmation of her claim to the continent by the Pope. The Pope assumed that God owned it, and he, as his vice-regent, had a right to dis-

pose of it. Protestant England nor Catholic France were willing to recognize the Pope's authority to dispose of the territory unless he could show a legal Power of Attorney from the grantor. The only claim that France could make was based on the fact that Marquette, Hennepin and other Catholic missionaries from Quebec went up through the lakes and rivers, and from the lakes, overland to the Mississippi river, preaching to the Indians and planting the cross. On this flimsy pretext the French based their claims to all of North America, and commenced building a chain of forts from Quebec to the northwest end of Lake Michigan, thence across to the Mississippi and down the river. They also built them in the interior, showing a determination to enforce their claim, if necessary, by resort to arms. Among their forts was one on the Cuyahoga river in what is now Northampton, formerly in Portage county. The English claim was based on the fact that, in 1497, the Cabots, father and son, sailed along the coast and discovered Newfoundland.

France and England, though deadly opposed to each other, were united in their opposition to the claim of Spain, and by their advances south, and finally, by a settlement made by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1582, in North Carolina, backed as he was by the power of England, Spain was compelled to abandon her claim to all the territory except Florida, which she was allowed to hold by virtue of the

discovery of Ponce de Leon. England and France, being now sole owners of this valuable prize, it was soon apparent that both nations were preparing to test their exclusive claim by arbitration of arms. In 1754 the threatened contest began and continued till 1760, when France was defeated, and by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, she transferred her title to America to England, and England, by the Treaty of 1783, at the close of the Revolutionary war, surrendered her title south of Canada to the United States. By the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, in 1785, the Indians ceded all the territory northwest of the Ohio river and east of the Cuyahoga, Portage Path and Tuscarawas river, to the United States; the Indian, Spanish, French and English claims were thus all merged in the United States title. By the compromise between the United States and Canada, in 1786, consummated by the deed of the President of the United States on the 30th of May, 1800, the United States conveyed the title of the Reserve of 120 miles west of Pennsylvania, to the State of Connecticut, which, on the 5th of September, 1795, gave a deed to John Morgan, Jonathan Brace and John Caldwell, of the Reserve, to hold as trustees for the company, and from thence is derived all the land titles on the Western Reserve.

It is a notable fact that these trustees all lived till every acre of land deeded in trust to them was sold. Previous to this sale, 500,000 acres of

the west end of the Reserve were, in 1792, granted by Connecticut to the inhabitants of New London, Fairfield and Norwalk, in that State, for losses by the burning of those towns by the British in the Revolutionary war. From this circumstance they are called the "Fire Lands." The balance, about 3,000,000, was sold to the Land Company for \$1,200,000, being about forty cents an acre.

A large per cent of the early settlers of the Western Reserve were from Connecticut. The State is composed of only eight counties, yet it is safe to say that no like territory in the United States has sent out so many distinguished and prominent men. It has furnished five governors for the famous Buckeye State, as follows:

Samuel Huntington was born in Norwich, Connecticut and was graduated from Yale College in the class of 1785.

Return J. Meigs was born in Middletown, Connecticut, in 1765, and was graduated at Yale in 1785.

Ethan A. Brown was born on the shore of Long Island Sound, in Fairfield county, July 4th, 1766, and was educated by private teachers.

Seabury Ford, eighteenth Governor of Ohio, was born in Cheshire, Connecticut in 1802, and was graduated at Yale in 1825.

George Hadley was born in New Haven, Connecticut July 31st, 1826, and was educated at what is now known as Adelbert College, which, and also Yale College have conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.

It is said by prominent writers that among the Yankee pioneer stock of the New Connecticut Western Reserve, and their descendants, have taken and read more books, newspapers, magazines and periodicals than in any place of the same population and area in the United States.

Many conflicting claims relative to this territory among the States had to be reconciled, or Virginia would have owned the whole Northwestern territory, and consigned it to slavery.

E. P. BRAINERD.

RAVENNA, O., 1889.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION
AND RESULTS.

FINAL GLEANINGS IN A FRUITFUL FIELD.

XXIII.

THE years immediately preceding 1850 were well into a period when the railroad was viewed by the people as a familiar and well-established mechanical and commercial force, and the expressions of wonder and prophecies of things yet to be accomplished become more rare as we approach the half-century mark. Steam had by this time practically demonstrated its claim to be the one great motive power for the present at least, as electric power had proved itself little else than a plaything, and the atmospheric railway was too expensive for practical use.* Lines of railroad extended in all directions, and millions of capital had been invested in the construction thereof. The mails were moved by rail when possible; the telegraph had become an instrument of daily use, and in 1850 travel was, in practical effects, very much as it is to-day.

But here and there new devices or modes of railway administration are discovered as we pass along the concluding years of this important half-century, and to some of these the attention of the reader will be briefly

directed before we cease to glean in these fruitful fields of miscellaneous railroad information.

The receipt and delivery of baggage at the railroad depot is conducted now as a matter of course and its method need hardly be described to the least traveled youth; but there was a time when the present system of safety and dispatch had not been reached. We are told that in 1845* quite an animated discussion was being carried on in England as to the best method of protecting the baggage of those traveling by rail. The editor favored the American system, and as he describes in detail the point to which the baggage-men upon this side of the sea had then advanced, his description is worthy of quotation: "A number of cars or vans are placed upon the track immediately in the rear of the engine and tender; the object of putting them in this position is to insure greater safety to the passenger carriages in case of collision, or should the engine run off the track. These vans are made quite water-tight, with a door at each side of the track, which are securely locked when the train starts, and are

* It was found in England that "the cost of conveying £100 worth of passengers" was £108.

* Wilmer & Smith's "European Times."

in charge of the conductor, who is also called baggage-master. One or more of these vans may be used for baggage to go 'through,' or to the end of the route; others are for 'way' baggage. When a passenger goes to a station to take his place, he gives his baggage to the conductor, who hands the owner a tin check with a number upon it, perhaps 1050. The conductor then places a duplicate 1050 upon the article of luggage, also giving a check for each separate article of box, trunk, bag, or whatever it may be. On arriving at his destination, the traveler presents his check 1050, and, as a matter of course, whatever article in the baggage-car which has 1050 upon it belongs to him; and so on with the other checks, if he has any. The mode of delivery is thus: At the end of the journey the baggage-cars are brought within a railing upon the platform, so that the assistants may not be interfered with. The door is then unlocked by the conductor, the first article at hand is taken out, whatever number is upon it is called out loudly by the assistant, the owner has the duplicate number in his hand, and as soon as he hears his number called he makes known the fact to the person who has called out, gives up his check and takes his luggage. If a traveler has a number of packages, and does not wish to be detained, he can leave his checks with a porter or cartman and feel assured there will be no error in delivery. The only objection to this mode of securing luggage is the de-

tention at the end of the journey. If properly managed, however, the luggage of two hundred passengers can be delivered within ten minutes—some of it, of course, in one. The advantage is perfect security from theft."

Another of the novelties of railroad travel was introduced about the same time, in the shape of the smoking-car, of which an English writer, in 1846, says: "A novelty has recently been introduced on the Eastern Counties (England) railway in the running of a handsome carriage, termed a smoking or excursion saloon. In size and form of build it much resembles the royal carriages on the Great Western, South Western and other railways. Its extreme length is forty feet, the body being about thirty feet, the ends being converted into a kind of open lounge. It runs on six wheels, which are fitted with Adams' bow springs. The internal decorations are of the most *recherche* description. The seats extend the full length of the sides, and are handsomely covered with morocco leather. A highly-polished mahogany table occupies the center, the entire fitted with self-balancing lamps. The sides are lighted by eight plate-glass windows of unusual size, while its ends are fitted up with four plates of looking-glass. Its drapery is composed of bright crimson silk, formed in very graceful design. The roof presents an exceedingly chaste appearance. The ground work is painted white, the moldings being gilt. The gene-

ral furniture is of richly carved, polished mahogany. The exterior is painted a deep maroon color, ornamented with gold etchings and emblazoned with the company's ciphers. Passengers using the smoking saloon are to pay first-class fare."

The smoke consumer for locomotives came into use at this prolific period, furnishing, as one writer of the day exultantly declared: "A protection for railroad travelers against the smoke and coal cinders which render that mode of conveyance,—railroad,—not only uncomfortable but dangerous; multitudes of persons have had their eyes seriously injured by the cinders which are drawn into the cars by the eddying currents of air produced by the rapid motion of the railway trains, and a general discomfort is often experienced, particularly in warm weather, from the necessity of closing the windows to avoid the annoyance." The *New York Evening Post* was pleased to announce, that in the invention of "a patent smoke consuming apparatus," this evil was effectually obviated. The machine was thus described: "It consists of what may be called an endless chain of bars; and this chain of bars forms the bottom of the furnace on which the live coal blazes. The chain moves very slowly forward, not more than at the rate of an inch in the minute, from the front to the back of the furnace, carrying the fire along with it; at the back or bridge of the furnace, the chain of bars moves round, and comes back beneath.

Thus it goes on endlessly from morning to night. The apparatus is fixed on a carriage, which is run into its place on a species of railroad, and the whole,—that is, the whole bottom of the furnace,—can be dragged in or out at pleasure, by which means every facility is presented for cleaning, renovating, etc. The chain of bars is moved by connecting gear from the steam engine. The coal is laid on a hopper at the mouth of the furnace, and is carried forward by the bars, the depth of coal that enters being regulated by an iron door, which is depressed or raised like a sling. The principle of smoke consumption consists in the slow and regular admission of the coal. Instead of being heaved in with a shovel, so as to produce continual gusts of smoke, it is admitted as it were by hair breadths. The ignition is therefore little at a time, and what smoke is raised, having to go over the whole bright fire beyond, it is necessarily consumed. Nothing gets up the chimney that is perceptible to the eye." "The apparatus," adds the *Post*, "we are told, has the advantage of economizing fuel and attendance, while it sustains the steam equally with the common practice of firing. The whole invention is as simple as ingenious. More than a year ago one of these patents was applied by the Messrs. Chambers of Edinburg, to a ten-horse power engine, which they employed to drive their extensive printing machinery. They have found it everything they desired."

An India rubber cars-pring made

its appearance at about the same time, and Mr. Minor, the editor of the *American Railroad Journal*, who had the pleasure of riding in two cars so fitted,—one upon the Harlem road, and another upon the New Jersey road between Jersey City and New Brunswick, had this to say of them: "The difference between these cars and others on steel springs, in the same train, was manifest, especially when reading,—and it appeared that while in the cars with India rubber springs the track was in much better repair than in the other cars. The apparent difference arose from the great elasticity of the rubber springs, which continued to yield as long as additional weight was applied, and to return on passing any inequality, however small. Of their comparative durability we cannot speak, though we see no reason to doubt their durability. This point will, however, be soon tested, as they are coming rapidly into use on several roads." Something in the same line was touched upon in the announcement made by one of the engineers upon the Auburn & Syracuse in 1848, that a plan had been devised and carried into effect that would prevent much of the noise that had caused so much annoyance upon railroads, the contrivance being the abolishment of the plate then in general use, and connecting the ends of the rails by dowel-pins, entering about one and one-fourth inches. "The cars glide over the rails," it was declared, "without any disagreeable jarring or noise." A railroad track

sprinkler was devised about the same time, having been patented by certain ingenious residents of Providence, Rhode Island. From the *Journal* of that city we learn that it had been applied to the trains of the Stonington Railroad, "with results favorable far beyond the expectation of the projectors." A tank of two thousand gallons was found sufficient to sprinkle the whole track from Providence to Stonington, the train going at the rate of twenty miles an hour. "The dust," says the same authority, "has been laid so effectually as to give no annoyance to passengers; the friction of the wheels on the rails has been greatly diminished; the bearing of the wheels and the journals have been much less worn, and such a thing as a hot box to a car has not been known, even at the greatest speed, since the sprinkler has been in use. The labor of cleaning the cars, and the wear upon them, have also been greatly diminished. The sprinkler is placed just behind the locomotive, so that while the locomotive is constantly on a dry and comparatively dusty track, the cars are going over a wet one."

At the Paris Academy of Sciences of the same year (1848), a paper was read on the application of carbonic acid as a motive power, by Mr. Jager, C. E., in which the author claimed that as the force of carbonic acid had no limit, it might profitably be made to take the place of steam. This was the line of his reasoning: The ordinary locomotive engine takes a power of six atmospheres; he proposed an

engine to be worked with carbonic acid, the principle of which was not to lose the gas, but after it had served to work the pistons, should be made to return, without loss, into a vessel similiar to a portable gas holder, to be placed in the rear part of the locomotive; and thus an apparatus, so charged at a station, might be made to work for years, until required to be repaired. Common chalk, or other ordinary carbonate of lime, would yield two hundred and twenty quarts of gas from two and one-fourth, by the application of sulphuric acid diluted with ten times its weight of water. He then entered into statistical details as to the quantity of gas required to carry a locomotive certain distances at given rates per hour, from which he deduced the following conclusions: 1. That by suitable apparatus placed at each station, atmospheres of carbonic acid may be concentrated for an unlimited time, from whence the receiver may be filled. 2. An apparatus having double compartments, will keep the carbonic acid after it has done its work, which would otherwise be lost. 3. The gas after having communicated its motive power to the engine, instead of being lost, like steam, will return under the conducting vessel, where the piston, regulated by the size of the other pistons, will force into the conducting receiver a quantity of permanent gas, corresponding to the quantity of condensed gas issuing from the other side, for the purpose of moving the engine. 4. The only question not yet

entirely resolved is to make the permanent gas re-enter the condensing apparatus, with the absorbtion of as little power as possible. To accomplish this, he proposed to place a lever on each side of the engine, put in motion by eccentrics, adapted to the first moving wheels; at each extremity of the lever would be placed a winch which would move two pistons of a given diameter, so that the gas would pass in and out without hindrance.

From the *Batavia (New York) Times* (in 1848):—"Few of our readers we presume, are aware of the enormous quantity of wood consumed by the various railway companies between Albany and Buffalo. The Utica & Schenectady Company consume about 25,000 cords of two-foot wood per annum; the Auburn & Rochester road, about 15,000 cords; and the Tonawanda road, 8,000 cords. The other roads consume probably from 30,000 to 35,000 cords—making the whole amount upwards of 80,000 cords per annum."

Already the flood-gates of railway litigation were opened, and one of the early illustrative cases was heard in the Supreme Judicial Court of Boston (1848), upon the application of one Jacob Richardson for the payment of damages caused by the breaking down of a car upon the Boston & Lowell Railroad, the case having been pending since August, 1847. The declaration alleged carelessness and negligence on part of the defendants, in not providing safe, suitable, and proper axles and wheels, by

means of which the car broke down and the plaintiff was injured. The allegations set forth covered the following statement of facts: On the 1st of January, 1840, the plaintiff took the morning train from Woburn to Boston, and when within a short distance of the city, the train running at full speed and turning a curve, the forward axle of the car in which the plaintiff was broke, and the corner of the car dropped, "and the motion became plunging, as if something was rooting up. The door in the side of the car blew open as the car dropped, and the plaintiff, who was standing in the channel, and opposite to the door, jumped out and fell upon the frozen ground. When picked up he was insensible, and the blood was flowing from his ears, nose and forehead. He remained unconscious for many days; was confined to his house six or eight weeks; and was permanently injured by the entire deafness of one ear, loss of memory and the power of concentrating his mind upon business, and by a general disorder of the nervous system, and decline of health." A part of the plaintiff's case was that the axle was not one of the best kind then in use, but was an old-fashioned rolled iron one, weakest where it should be strongest, and only strong where no great strength was required.

The judge before whom the case was tried charged the jury that the defendants, as carriers of passengers, were not to be held as insurers of safe carriage, as common carriers are; but

they were bound to use the highest diligence, and if there occurred any accident from want of care or negligence, however slight, they would be liable; that the burden was on the plaintiff throughout to show negligence; that the jury must find preponderating evidence that there was negligence or want of care, or skill; that the plaintiff lost no right of action by springing from the car if the danger was imminent, and caused alarm and fear, and the plaintiff had no time to reason and reflect upon the best course to pursue; that is, if through the neglect of the defendants the alarm and fear arose, they were liable for the damages that ensued. The jury were instructed to pass upon the question of neglect first, and if they found there was neglect, then to consider the question of damages. They discussed the case for six hours, and then agreed to a verdict for the plaintiff, and assessed the damages at \$222.32. The plaintiff promptly asked for a new trial, upon the ground of insufficiency of damages. The case need not be continued further, the chief point being to set forth the position assumed by the courts at this early day of railroad litigation.

Another case of early railroad litigation adds a ray of new light upon the point—that of *Ezra H. Corning vs. The Connecticut River Railroad Company*, where damages to the amount of \$9,040 were awarded for personal injury sustained while a passenger in the cars of the company.

An engine, which was being tested upon the line, ran into the car in which Mr. Corning was seated, and he was so injured as to be entirely incapacitated from business, and finally left in a greatly demoralized physical condition. The Court instructed the jury that they were to view the plaintiff's constitution as it was when the suit was commenced, and not as it was at the time of trial. They were to award such damages as, in their opinion, would compensate him, so far as money could, for the injuries received. They were not to pay any attention to the fact that he might be a poor man and the defendants a rich corporation, but consider only what amount of damage had been done and what amount of money would pay for it. The golden rule, he declared, had nothing to do with the case, "for if juries were to do as they would be done by, it would be impossible ever to get a man hung."

In May, 1847, a law was passed by the Legislature of New York, covering the use of baggage checks by all the railroad companies operating within the State and defining that use with the utmost exactness. "It shall be the duty," the law declares, "of every railroad company hereafter to furnish and attach checks to each separate parcel of baggage which they by their agent or officers receive from any person for transportation as ordinary or extraordinary baggage, in their baggage-car accompanying their passenger trains, and they shall

also furnish to such person duplicate check or checks, having upon it or them a corresponding number to that attached to each parcel of baggage; said checks and duplicates shall be made of some metallic substance, of convenient size and form, plainly stamped with numbers, and each check furnished with a convenient strap or appendage for attaching to baggage, and accompanying it a duplicate, to be delivered to the person delivering or owning such baggage; and whenever the owner of said baggage, or other person, shall, at the place the cars usually stop to which said baggage was to be transported, or at any other regular stopping place, present their duplicate check or checks to the officer or agent of the railroad; or of any railroad over any portion of which said baggage was transported, they shall deliver it up to the person so offering the duplicate check, or checks, without unnecessary delay. And the neglect or refusal, on the part of any railroad company, its agents or officers, to furnish and attach to any person's ordinary or extraordinary traveling baggage, if conveyed by their passenger trains, suitable check or checks, and to furnish such persons proper duplicate or duplicates, shall forfeit and pay to such person and owner, for such refusal and neglect, the sum of ten dollars, to be recovered in action for debt."

Legislation against the free railroad pass was also commenced in the early days; a measure passing the

Legislature of New Hampshire and becoming a law, which clearly defined and greatly confined the powers of a railroad company in the matter of free transportation. "No person," it was declared, "shall be allowed to pass or be carried over any railroad in this State without first paying the customary fare, excepting the stockholders going to and returning from the annual or any special meeting of said railroad corporation; the directors, treasurer and clerk of said company on their own road; the superintendent and conductors of such road and such other roads as shall have a business connection and contract with such road; persons actually engaged in running the cars, in charge of baggage, or in repairing the road, or persons in charge of freight forwarded by express, in pursuance of a contract with the corporation, or in charge of the mail, or accompanying their own freight on a freight train. Provided, however, that if any person shall apply to the president, superintendent, conductor, or ticket-master of any road for permission to pass free, and it shall appear that such person is poor, or in misfortune, and unable to pay the usual fare, and that it is necessary such person should pass over the road, it shall be lawful for such president, superintendent, conductor, or ticket-master to give such person a written permit to pass free over such road, and such permit may include the wife and children of such poor person. A record of all such permits

shall be made by the person giving the same, which shall at all times be open to the inspection of the stockholders, and a return thereof be made at the annual meeting.

"It shall be the duty of the conductors on such railroads immediately after the cars start on the road, to examine the tickets of the passengers, to ascertain if all have purchased tickets, and examine the tickets of all persons entering the cars by the way, and if any person who is not hereby excepted is found who has no ticket, to require such person forthwith to pay the usual fare over such road, or such part of it as the person proposes to travel, or in case of neglect or refusal to pay, it shall be the duty of the conductor to cause the train to be stopped, and the person or persons so neglecting or refusing to pay to leave the train, and in case of refusal it shall be lawful for said conductor to use such force as may be necessary to remove such person from the train; and the conductor shall have the same power to command assistance in removing such persons as sheriffs by law have when serving process, and under the same penalty in case of refusal. Any person refusing to pay the fare, and refusing to leave the train as aforesaid, shall be liable to a fine of ten dollars.

"Any conductor who shall refuse to perform the duties required of him by this act, or any president, director superintendent, ticket-master or conductor who shall pass or knowingly allow any person to pass or be carried

over their road, or furnish any person with a ticket to pass over their road in violation of the first-section of this act, shall be punished by fine, not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars."

Of course there was opposition to this stringent measure, a portion of which was emphatically expressed by the *American Railway Times*. "The sections in reference to free passes," it declares, "is the most arrant nonsense, and to our mind the legislators had no more business to legislate concerning it than they had to regulate the same matter regarding stage coaches, baggage-wagons and other means of conveyance. The legislature would seem to say that the officers and directors of railway companies have no knowledge of their business, and lack the necessary discretion to regulate the affairs of their different trusts. We can see a great many ways that the roads themselves will be losers by this folly of over-legislation, and even the State itself. To our mind the whole railway legislation of New Hampshire, excepting the adoption of a system of returns, used by Massachusetts, is one mass of inconsistency. They make meat of one and flesh of another of the companies, with reference to the issue of bonds and preferred stock, and by the folly of restriction with regard to the granting of free passes. Had the legislature ordered the different companies to publish weekly or monthly statements of their earnings and expenses, it would have

been vastly of more practical use."

This law further required that each railroad corporation in the State should, in August of each year, fix a rate of tolls for the transportation of passengers and freight over their roads, rated by the mile in the case of passengers, and by the ton per mile upon freight, except for timber, lumber, bark and wood, which might be rated by the thousand feet, or by the cord per mile. A copy of such rate of tolls must, on the first day of September in each year, be posted up in all the stations on the line, which was to there remain during the year. No charge could be made during the year higher than that named in the list unless a sixty-days' notice was given to that effect. Regulations were added as to the construction and maintenance of cattle-guards, cattle-passes, and farm-crossings; and it was further provided that whenever any railroad company should "unreasonably neglect or refuse to establish reasonable and proper depots for stopping-places for the public accommodation," application should be made to the governor, who should refer the matter to the railroad commissioners, who, in turn, could compel the company offending, to supply the lacking accommodation. Other important and interesting features were covered in the sections here quoted:

"If the life of any person not in the employment of the corporation, shall be lost by reason of the negligence, or carelessness of the proprietor or proprietors of any railroad, or the unfit-

ness or gross negligence, or by the carelessness of their servants or agents in this State, such proprietor or proprietors shall be liable to a fine of not exceeding five thousand dollars, nor less than five hundred dollars, to be recovered by indictment to the use of the executor or administrator of the deceased person for the benefit of his widow and heirs, one moiety thereof to go to the widow and the other to the children of the deceased; but if there shall be no children, the whole shall go to the widow, and if no widow, to his heirs, according to the law regulating distribution of intestate personal estate among heirs.

"No contract between two or more railroad corporations for the use of their roads shall be legal or binding on either part unless such contract shall be sanctioned in writing by the railroad commissioners and approved by the governor and council. And in no case shall their contract be for a longer period than five years, and no such use of another road shall be allowed unless by contract in writing, executed by both parties, and a copy filed with the Secretary of State.

"The directors of every railroad corporation shall from year to year make report to the legislature, under oath, of their acts and doings, receipts and expenditures under the provision of their charter, which report shall be made in the month of May in each year," and should contain an immense mass of detailed information, as specified in full in the act.

The *Pathfinder Railway Guide for*

the New England States, of November, 1849, contains the rules and regulations adopted by all the principal railroad companies of New England; throwing some light upon railroad methods at a time when trial and experiment had to take the place of experience. Use and custom have so settled matters now, that the greater portion of the directions given, are never set down in writing at all. We quote: "First.—*In regard to passengers:*—Passengers must procure tickets before taking their seat in the cars. They must not smoke in the cars or station houses. They are not allowed, under any circumstances, to stand on the platforms of the cars. They must not take or leave the cars when in motion, nor put their heads or arms out of the car windows. Second.—*In regard to baggage and articles carried on the passenger trains.*—All baggage must be delivered to the baggage-master or other person authorized to receive it, before the passenger takes his seat in the cars. Baggage must be accompanied in the same train by its owner; and when not so accompanied, no agent of the company is authorized to receive it on board the train, and the company will not hold itself responsible as common carriers in regard to it. The liability of the company as common carriers in regard to baggage and other articles transported upon a passenger train, will not commence till such baggage or other articles are put or received on board the train; and the same liability will terminate when such baggage or

other articles are unloaded from the train at their place of destination. Baggage will not be taken to include money, merchandise, or other articles than those of personal use; and when of higher value than the highest sum advertised by the company as the limit of its liability, notice must be given of that fact, and an extra price paid, or the company will not hold itself liable beyond that amount. The company will not hold itself liable for any valise, package, or other article of personal property, taken by the passenger with him into the cars, or carried at all upon a passenger train, unless delivered to the baggage-master, or other person authorized to receive and take charge of such articles. The company expressly reject any liability for the care of articles in the keeping of express agents, who pass over their road under special contract; whether any such limitation of the company's liability is published in such express agent's advertisement or not. Third—*As to freight, going by freight trains.*—All articles of freight must be plainly and distinctly marked, or they will not be received by the company; and when designed to be forwarded, after transportation on the railroad, a written order must be given, with the particular line of boats or teams marked on the goods, if any such be preferred or desired. The company will not hold itself liable for the safe carriage or custody of any article of freight, unless receipted for by an authorized agent; and no agent of the company is authorized to re-

ceive, or agree to transport, any freight which is not thus receipted for; duplicate receipts, in the form prescribed by each company, ready for signing, must accompany the delivery of any freight to that company. No responsibility will be admitted, under any circumstances, to a greater amount upon any single article of freight, than \$200, unless upon notice being given of such amount, and a special agreement therefor; specie, drafts, bank-bills, and other articles of intrinsic or representative value, will only be taken upon a representation of their value, and by a special agreement assented to by the superintendent. The company will not hold themselves liable at all for any injury to any article of freight during the course of transportation, arising from the weather or accidental delays. Nor will they guarantee any special dispatch in the transportation of such articles, unless made the subject of express stipulation. Nor will they hold themselves liable, as common carriers, for such articles, after their arrival at their place of destination and unloading in the company's warehouses or depots. Machinery, furniture, stoves and castings, mineral acids, all liquids put up in glass or earthen ware, unpacked fruit and live animals, will only be taken at the owners' risk of fracture or injury during the course of transportation, loading and unloading, unless specially agreed to the contrary. Gunpowder, friction matches and like combustibles, will not be received on any

terms; and all persons procuring the reception of such freight by fraud or concealment, will be held responsible for any damage which may arise from it while in the custody of the company. All articles of freight, arriving at their destination, must be taken away within twenty-four hours after being unloaded from the cars,—the company reserving the right of charging storage on the same, or placing the same in store, at the risk and expense of the owner, if they see fit, after the lapse of that time."

The era of cheap suburban rates was already inaugurated. The *Boston Traveller* (1848), contains the announcement that "the authorities of one of our roads, whose president is a thoroughly practical man, are organizing a system of cheap traveling, for the thousands in our city and outskirts, who are, at present, in a measure, deprived of healthful exercise of this kind, through lack of means. This plan is said to resemble cheap steamboats, etc., of London, which carry thousands of the working classes of that city into the villages, at the very cheap rate of from one to three pence each." This condition of affairs in England was not altogether due to the initiative of the railroad companies, as under the orders of the Commissioners of Railways, upwards of one hundred and seventy cheap, or third class, trains were run daily upon the railways of the United Kingdom, extending over more than four thousand miles; the object of such legislation being to secure to the poorer

classes the means of traveling at moderate rates, in carriages protected from the weather. By the act named it was incumbent upon every railway company to run one such train every day, at 1d. per mile, and at a speed of at least twelve miles an hour. Children under three years of age were to be carried without charge, and under twelve years for half the charge of an adult. Any neglect of these regulations subjected the company to penalties, and deprived them of the benefit of the remission of the passenger tax, which was allowed upon all cheap trains.

Railway danger and railroad accidents, soon brought railway assurance, and we now find it stated (1849), in the London journals that "the new system of life insurance, in the event of accidents by railway" was already in operation upon the London & North Western, and the Lancashire and Yorkshire lines. Tickets for a single journey, irrespective of distance, were obtained at the same time the fare was paid; the first-class passenger paying 3d. for an insurance of £1,000; the second-class passenger paying 2d. for £200; and the third-class for 1d. received an insurance of £500 in the event of loss of life; and compensation followed in cases of personal injury. The immediate establishment of a like system upon other lines of England was announced.

A glance at the comparative cost of railroad travel in the United States at this period, as exhibited in a tabular statement that appeared in

the *American Railroad Journal* (1849), shows that the New York & Erie charged the lowest rate, viz. 1.72 cents per mile; the Harlem next, and then the Long Island Railroad. The New England roads all ranged below three cents, except the New Haven, Hartford & Springfield, which was one-tenth over. "From this statement" it was deduced, "it will be seen that the railroads in the State of New York, diverging from the city of New York, charge lower rates than any other roads in the country; and we presume the managers of those roads have been influenced by the belief that, when there is a dense, and, to a certain extent, confined population, the true plan is to put the rates of fare low, and thus induce the masses to use the road." Some portions of the table referred are quoted as follows:

Name, Commencement and terminations.	Length miles	Through-fare	Cents per mile
Eastern Railroad, Boston to Portland.....	105	\$3.00	2.85
Boston and Lowell.....	26	0.65	2.50
Fall River—Boston to Fall River.....	53	1.35	2.54
Old Colony—Boston to Plymouth.....	37 1-2	1.00	2.66
New Haven & Springfield.....	62	1.87	3.00
New York & Harlem.....	33	1.00	1.88
New York & Erie.....	87	1.50	1.72
Long Island.....	95	2.00	2.10
Camden & Amboy—New York to Philadelphia...	90	3.00	3.33
Philadelphia & Baltimore.	97	3.00	3.01
Philadelphia, Lancaster & Harrisburgh.....	107	4.00	3.73
Baltimore & Ohio—Baltimore to Cumberland...	179	7.00	3.91
Baltimore & Ohio—Washington.....	40	1.60	4.00
Gaston & Raleigh.....	87	4.00	4.60
South Carolina—Charleston to Augusta.....	136	6.75	4.96
Georgia, Augusta—to Atlanta.....	171	7.00	4.09
Central Savannah to Macon.....	191	7.00	3.65
Montgomery & West Point.....	60	3.00	5.00
Vicksburgh & Jackson...	47	3.00	6.38
Albany & Schenectady...	17	.50	2.94

Name, Commencement and terminations.	Length miles	Through-fare	Cents per mile
Troy & Schenectady.....	20 1-2	.50	2.43
Michigan, Central—Detroit to Kalamazoo.....	146	4.40	3.00
Erie & Kalamazoo—Toledo to Adrian.....	33	1.00	3.00
Mad River—Sandusky to Bellefontaine.....	102	3.25	3.18
Lexington & Ohio.....	28	1.25	44.6

The following incident, recorded in the *Cincinnati Gazette* of this period, is perhaps worth reading: The train from Cincinnati to Xenia was delayed because of a break in the locomotive. Among the passengers aboard were the judges on their way to hold a session of the United States Court, and also several lawyers who were engaged in cases to be heard. Judge Wright relates in the *Gazette*, the method employed for making good use of this delay: "We were consequently detained seven and a half hours, which detention the passengers bore with most commendable patience, whiling away the time, first in quoit pitching and other amusements, and afterwards in more serious business. The judges of the United States Courts were of the party, as were several of the lawyers engaged on opposite sides of cases for hearing before that court. It was proposed after dinner, and agreed to, that one of these cases should be taken up and argued, and thus usefully fill up on the road the time which would otherwise be consumed at Columbus. The case was taken up, and the argument progressed until interrupted by the whistle, announcing the approach of the locomotive to take us on. This I suppose, is the first court held at Montauk, certainly the first U. S.

court ever held there. The argument has since been resumed and concluded in court here; and the question was as well argued as if the whole had taken place within the walls of a court house."

The *North German Review* for August, 1849, contains an elaborate and valuable article upon the railway system of England, in the course of which appears a comparative table of casualties which had occurred on the railways in England, France, Belgium and Germany, between August 1st, 1840, and July, 1845; the result of calculations made by the Baron Von Reden. From an examination of this table it will be observed that as regards safety the difference is strikingly in favor of Germany; which is accounted for by the fact that, while the officials stationed along the road are greater in number than in any other country, the police regulations are of such a nature that passengers cannot, by heedlessness or rashness, incur the chance of danger to life and limb. The table is as follows:

KILLED BY HIS OWN NEGLIGENCE.

England.....	I passenger out of	869,000
France.....	" " "	2,157,000
Belgium.....	" " "	670,000
Germany.....	" " "	25,000,000

KILLED AND WOUNDED FROM MISCONDUCT.

England.....	I official out of	300,000
France.....	" " "	5,000,000
Belgium.....	" " "	280,000
Germany.....	" " "	9,000,000

KILLED FROM DEFECTIVE MANAGEMENT.

England.....	I person out of	852,000
France.....	" " "	3,465,906
Belgium.....	" " "	1,690,764
Germany.....	" " "	12,251,858

In connection with the above, we give the following contemporary view of the German lines:—"With few exceptions they have but one track, are laid upon traverse sleepers of oak or pine, have a rather light T-rail, and are of the narrow gauge. There are usually three classes of cars,—the first and second are similar to those upon all European roads, having three or four compartments in each carriage, between which there is no communication, and in which are two benches running across the carriage, affording seats for eight persons. The greatest inconvenience is, that as the two rows of seats face each other, one-half the passengers must ride backward. There are no means of warming the cars save that in those of the first-class boxes of hot sand are provided for one's feet. The second class of cars are more comfortable upon the German roads than upon those of any other European country, and the consequence is that nearly all the passengers there take that class. The rates of fare for the second-class carriages there correspond nearly with the rates upon our roads. Those of the first-class are of course a little higher, while those of the third are much lower. The difference between the rates for the first and second-class there is much less than upon the French and English roads, and there is less difference between the style and comfort of the first and second classes of carriages—those of the second class being nearly equal to those of the first class."

A writer in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine** of this era, presents an elaborate view of what railroads should be, mechanically, commercially and morally among which requisites the following were enumerated :

1. The more frequent the trains, the better the public will be served.

2. Light engines and trains—i. e., small engines and large carriages, can be worked more economically than larger engines and long trains.

3. The same principle applies to light goods, namely :—frequent despatches and fast traveling, precisely as the town carriers now work their traffic.

4. A kind of man-handling of goods; wagons is wasteful. Long and large wagons should be drawn by engine power into stations under sheds, with alternate lines of rails and ordinary highways, and discharged by cranes, like canal boats. Short wagons, man-handled, are very expensive railway stock.

5. Short lines in the environs of towns should be worked by small five-minutes trains, like omnibusses. Passengers do not object to wait for the next train when the trains are in quick succession.

6. That highways may, in many cases, be advantageously laid down with rails for horse transit on the same gauge, to communicate with branches or main lines of railway.

7. That landlords may, with great advantage, construct cheap lines

through their own estates, on which to place their farms.

8. That in many cases it would be for their advantage to *give* the land needful to construct lines of railway.

9. That when the traffic of both goods and passengers is desired in maximum, the true mode is to make two lines for passengers and fast traffic, and a third line for goods and slow traffic, and to provide also a parallel line of highways close to it. The north Woolwich branch of the Eastern Counties line is a sample of this. Being obliged by act of Parliament to make a parallel highway, the directors are precluded from charging too high prices, and streets of houses are gradually accumulating. At no great distance of time this line will be a railway through a town on the same level. Future towns will be thus constructed.

The writer proceeds to the evolution of a novel form of railway service that, in the form proposed, did not get beyond the stages of theory. "For the accommodation of the wealthier classes," he premises, "willing to pay for speed and accommodation, it would be desirable to institute *subscription trains* of great lightness and speed, carrying say seventy to one hundred first-class passengers, with light baggage, and accommodations for a few servants. A train of this kind, consisting of an engine and tender, break van, with accommodation for fourteen servants and baggage, and a light first-class for sixty-four passengers, would cost, as it appears by a docu-

* Vol. XXII, p. 679.

ment put into our hands, £2,200. It would travel at fifty miles per hour without stopping, and do one hundred miles per day. The total expense for six hundred miles per week throughout the year, would be less than £1,000, including interest, at five per cent., coke, oil, grease, charges, repairs and depreciation. This is about thirty shillings per train. Take for example the Brighton line. There are many gentlemen who would travel backwards and forwards every day, if they could do it in two hours, and employ the traveling time in reading or writing. Seventy-eight pounds per annum would be just two shillings and sixpence each journey. Now supposing each seat numbered, and an ivory ticket, transferable, issued to the takers of the seats, it is probable that in some cases three persons would club to take a ticket amongst them for two days per week each. The profit to the company by such an arrangement would be enormous.

Total revenue first year, say.....	£5,000
Total outlay for first year in capital and expenses.....	3,200
Profit.....	£1,800
Revenue second year.....	5,000
Expenses.....	1,000
Profit.....	£4,000

"This principle is used in what are called excursion trains, making the transaction a certainty to the company; and there is no doubt that it might be carried on extensively. A company of gentlemen might surely take their railway carriage on job, as an individual does his private carriage or as a house is let by the year. A

train of this kind might be run from London to Liverpool, and *vice versa*, in five hours, starting at 7 A. M., and arriving at noon; starting again at 6 P. M., and arriving at 11, would leave six hours interval in London or Liverpool for business. This, with a carriage fitted for reading and writing, and with not more than five stoppages to water and coke, and without loss of time in ticket collection, would surely be a great advantage to the higher order of the mercantile community. Supposing the rent of a seat to be £250 per annum for two persons jointly, the annual revenue from sixty-four would be £16,000. First cost of two trains say, £5,000. First year's expenses say, £4,000. Total £ 9,000. Profit £ 7,000. Revenue second year, £ 16,000. Expenses £ 4,000. Profit, £ 12,000. Maintenance of way with such light weights would be practically *nil*. Large roomy seats, with folding reading desks are contemplated in this arrangement, Eight separate bodies to the carriage. The remaining problem is—are there sixty-four first-class merchants in London and Liverpool who would set their hands and seals to such an agreement between themselves and the company? Or, if not, how otherwise, and what annual sum would they give? Fast traveling can be had at a moderate price, if the customers can be made permanent." While the plan as here outlined may not have been adopted, the general features may be seen to-day in the suburban service of any great European or American city.

J. H. KENNEDY.

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

JOHN SAWYER WILSON.

THE position of commanding usefulness, and extensive responsibility and authority now held by John S. Wilson, as president of the Poughkeepsie Bridge Company, and of the Central New England & Western Railroad Company, is but an upward step in a career that has been one of the ablest, most industrious, and prolific of practical results of any recorded in the history of the American railroad. Mr. Wilson entered upon railroad life in a subordinate capacity, but his faculties had been so trained by industrious and effective labor in other lines of business that he was able to produce such results as won him speedy promotion and a sure reputation. Every advancement that has since come has represented a service that won the position bestowed, and every onward step he has taken has been faithfully earned.

Mr. Wilson was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, on May 25th, 1832. He began the practical labor of life at an early age, his first position being that of shipping clerk in a wholesale grocery house of St. Louis, Missouri, in which capacity he displayed such qualities as won him an early advancement, and he had not been long employed before he was sent upon the road as a traveling

salesman. In this capacity he visited nearly every city and town in the West and Southwest, and confirming and strengthening by his success the good opinion of his capabilities entertained by his employers, and earning a reputation as a salesman which brought him advantageous offers from several other firms. Among these was one from Kilgore & Co., a wholesale grocery firm of Philadelphia; and as it contained an offer of a partnership interest, and was an advantage in many ways, the young man decided upon its acceptance. He made his home in Philadelphia, and worked as earnest in the one field as he had in the other. His influence in the sections where he had previously traveled was so great that he found it far from a difficult task to control the trade with which he was acquainted, and by throwing himself heart and soul into the work, he built up in a short time a very prosperous business. Everything was progressing favorably when the commercial disturbance which followed rapidly upon the opening of the civil war, brought ruin and failure to his firm. But this calamity, deplorable as it was in fact, did not extinguish the natural resources and self-reliance of the man, although it led him in a line of labor different

from that to which he had so far devoted himself.

His entrance upon the work in which he has won such reputation and success, was as freight agent of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, at Philadelphia, where he undertook the duties of this position with energy and judgment, being greatly aided in their discharge by an intimate knowledge of the country acquired during his experience as traveling salesman. In 1869, upon the reorganization of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company, he was promoted to the position of through freight agent; and a few years later his superior ability was still further recognized by his elevation to the post of general freight agent. As one of his biographers has well said: "His general aptitude for the railroad business, the readiness with which he mastered its details and solved the most difficult problems in transportation, were sufficient evidence that he had found a life vocation. With characteristic judgment he bent all his energies to the work in hand, impressed himself upon his superiors, and eventually proved not only that the position he filled held latent possibilities far beyond the ordinary supposition, but also that he was the person to develop them. About this time a radical change in the system of transportation took place, the steamship lines, during the navigation season, becoming the favorite means of transit for both freight and travel. It was not long

before their influence became a decided menace to the prosperity of the railroads, the cars of which stood unused upon the tracks while the steamers plying between Philadelphia and Baltimore were taxed to their full capacity. The circumstances were well calculated to rouse the utmost energy and watchfulness on the part of Mr. Wilson, and notwithstanding the many obstacles he had to contend with, he gradually turned the tide of traffic in favor of his road and eventually increased it many fold. In this contest the position of freight manager was shown to be one of vital importance, and its incumbent at the time a man of unconquerable determination and infinite resources. In 1880 the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, heretofore an independent corporation, passed under the control of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which in this way gained a great victory over its active competitor the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Mr. Wilson was one of the officers who were retained in their old positions. So well pleased with his work were his new employers, that in 1882, upon the resignation of Mr. John McC. Creighton, he was made general freight agent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and as such continued until 1888, when he voluntarily retired from the position to resume greater responsibilities elsewhere. In 1885 his department was reorganized, three assistants being appointed to manage the more onerous details, while he himself was designated General Traf-

fic Manager, and placed in full control of the whole freight business of the corporation."

A writer in one of the principal railroad journals of the country, fully informed as to Mr. Wilson's labors in this position, says: "Mr. Wilson made the greatest possible improvement in all departments of the business. From a condition of more or less chaos when he entered upon his duties he brought it to a state of efficiency which was the admiration of all railroad men and of the public. Very few people have any conception of the magnitude of the freight traffic of the Pennsylvania system. Two-thirds of all the earnings of the company are from freight, and the gross earnings are one-seventh of those of the entire railroad system of this country. The coal and coke traffic in the last year of Mr. Wilson's service amounted to between fifteen and sixteen million tons. The rapid increase of business and the perfect system attained are sufficient proofs of the ability of Mr. Wilson as a manager." A most important part of Mr. Wilson's labor in connection with this position was the fixing of freight charges. With the enormous tonnage of the road a single error in judgment would have cost the company heavily and have led doubtless to complications which might have seriously impaired the yearly dividends. For the proper discharge of the duties of this position rare judgment and great decision of character, also, were prime requisites, yet both would have been of little

avail without that inherent quality called executive ability which Mr. Wilson possesses in an extraordinary degree and which combined with his other attainments and attributes gave him the reputation of being "the ablest traffic manager in the country." All the details of this vast business being at last perfectly systematized, Mr. Wilson's deputies, under his watchful control and management, carried them out successfully; and his own time was largely occupied in discussing and arranging with the President and Vice-President of the road the great questions of general policy, upon which the profits and permanence of the corporation depended. It is scarcely to be doubted that he was the hardest working man in the employ of the company. From an early hour in the morning until long after the usual business hours he was daily engaged with his task, and nothing save vigorous health and a well-ordered life could have enabled him successfully to withstand the heavy strain both mental and physical. A feature of Mr. Wilson's management of the local traffic in Pennsylvania and contiguous states was the impetus given by it to various industries which were largely dependent upon the transportation facilities afforded by the Pennsylvania road. With what seemed intuition, but was really the outcome of the most careful study of the local requirements, Mr. Wilson met every demand as rapidly as it was made, and it was not too much to assert that the rapid in-

crease in many of their industries and the growth and expansion of those already established along the line of the road were directly due to his untiring efforts and liberal as well as energetic management. While he was at the head of this great department the Inter-State Commerce Commissioners frequently sought his opinions on the problems which confronted them in their official investigations. In the summer of 1888 he was formally requested to appear before the Commission and enlighten it on details of general railway and freight traffic. His testimony on this occasion was of the utmost value and upon the subject of through export freight rates, in particular, was considered by all parties concerned as one of the ablest statements of this exceedingly difficult and intricate subject ever made public.

Mr. Wilson decided, in the fall of 1888, to resign his position as General Traffic Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and accordingly tendered his resignation. It was accepted with great reluctance by the company, on October 10th of that year; on which date, at a meeting of the Board of Directors, the following entry was made upon the minutes by unanimous action: "*Resolved:* That, in accepting the resignation of Mr. John S. Wilson as General Freight Traffic Agent, the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company desire to express their sincere regret at the termination of his connection with the service of the company, and their

appreciation of the ability and fidelity with which he has performed the important functions entrusted to him."

In December, 1888, Mr. Wilson was elected President of the Poughkeepsie Bridge Company and affiliated roads. The principal parties interested in this great project were Philadelphians, who being fully acquainted with Mr. Wilson's capabilities and success, earnestly desired him to accept this position which they had formally offered to him some time previously. Under Mr. Wilson's clear-headed and vigorous leadership a consolidation of interests was speedily effected and a new corporation formed under the title of the Central New England & Western Railroad, which controls the Bridge Railroad and its immediate approaches. To the development of this gigantic undertaking, which is destined to largely affect the transportation interests of the country, and which can scarcely fail to prove of great benefit to the populous and industrious section lying east of the Hudson river, Mr. Wilson is now devoting his best talent and energies. That he is the man to bring success out of the undertaking no one at all conversant with railroad management can entertain the slightest doubt. The task as originally assumed was one requiring the greatest astuteness of intellect, since it was desirable to effect and establish satisfactory traffic arrangements with all the railroads which approach the bridge line, and at the same time necessary to avoid entangling alliances

with any of them. These arrangements were happily effected, and the enterprise is now operated on a basis which leaves no question as to its future prosperity. Every indication at present points to the new line as one destined to become in a few years one of the great railroad highways of the country. Mr. Wilson's long experience in railroad work, his intimate knowledge of the relations of the different systems of the country with each other, his excellent judgment, and perhaps, as much as anything else, his marvelous tenacity in following out and finishing any enterprise or innovation attempted, entitle him to recognition as one of the foremost railroad officers of the present day. His active and successful life has earned him wide respect among the master business men of the country, and has brought to his new enterprise the confidence of the general public.

Mr. Wilson has been too deeply engrossed with business cares to have time for politics or office holding, although an interested observer of events, and keeping abreast with the

best thought and literature of the day. When free from the harness of daily affairs, he takes pleasure in social life, where his estimable qualities commend him to the affections and friendship of those he meets. Generous, approachable, and with a character above reproach; with a marvelous gift of conversation; as quick in thought as he is brilliant in execution, he is a marked man in any circle in which he may be seen. Since he assumed the presidency of the Poughkeepsie Bridge Company and the Central New England & Western Railroad Company, his office has been in New York city, where he has a general acquaintance with the leading railroad and business men, by all of whom he is deemed a valuable accession. Mr. Wilson was married in 1873 to Miss Kate D. Hemphill, a niece of Judge Hemphill, whose country seat near Strawberry Mansion in East Fairmount Park, renowned in former days for its generous hospitality, is still a well-known land-mark of the earlier social life of Philadelphia.

THE CATTLE UPON COLORADO RANGES.*

THOUGH Denver was quite a flourishing town when I arrived here on the 19th of May, 1872, yet its proportions were small as compared with to-day, both as to population and as a cattle market. It then had about one-sixth of its present population and handled about one-tenth as many cattle as now.

Having got tired after a few weeks of doing nothing, I assisted S. F. Jones & Co., in finishing their Broadway and Cherry Creek yards, then under construction, and managed them for some months. These yards were afterwards owned by Scherrer & Clough. Here, on the 18th of July 1872, I sold and weighed the first beef cattle outside of Bailey's or other down-town yards.

As I helped the herder a good deal in managing the day herd, my name appeared in the directory published in January, 1873, as "John A. Clough, herder." During the year

1873 I was a member of the firm of Scherrer, Clough & Co., and Scherrer & Clough, and I was general manager, purchasing agent, salesman, yard-master, weigher, treasurer, collector, secretary, bookkeeper, etc., and only occasionally had time to assist in herding. The directory of 1874 set me up a peg, and had me down as "John A. Clough, bookkeeper." My work on my books, however, was done when most other people were, and I ought to have been, asleep. Since then I have been classed I believe, as a livestock dealer, and in some years bought and sold three-fourths of the cattle, veal calves, and hogs consumed in this and the mountain market.

In 1872 we had but the Kansas Pacific Railroad east, the Denver Pacific to Cheyenne, 106 miles virtually closed to Denver on account of railroad complications; the Denver & Rio Grande to Pueblo, 120 miles, and Colorado Central to Golden, 15 miles. Now we have ten roads radiating from Denver. Then the cattle were driven in on foot; now the iron horse over steel rails brings them from all points of the compass.

Then the red men of the forest held their sway over the ranges to the west, the northwest and southwest of us, where now are quietly grazing

* The following article was contributed to the *Denver Tribune-Republican*, Dec. 23d, 1885, by Hon. John A. Clough, one of the pioneer live-stock merchants of Colorado, and now President of the Colorado Savings Bank of Denver. The paper possesses historical merits in addition to its reflections and prophecies, which have been more than fulfilled, touching a subject of general and growing importance.

and growing fat over a million of cattle, tributary to Denver. Then fifty to seventy-five miles east of Denver was the eastern limit for cattle ranches. The Indian and the buffalo occupied the balance to the settlements in Kansas. But some years ago the cattle men with their herds spread out east until they met the farmers of Kansas extending their territory to the west, and the cattle men in turn were pressed back by the settlers. But I do not consider that section tributary to Denver, but only speak of it to show the contrast between 1872 and 1885. But why go on to speak of Denver as a cattle market of to-day or of fourteen years ago?—only that it may illustrate or indicate what was in store for her as a cattle market in the future. I am not a very imaginative man, but I can see, or think I can see, a great future for Denver, not only as the Queen City of the Plains, in her beauty, wealth and commerce, but as a cattle market. It has been only about three years since the Indians were removed from the country directly west of us. Since then the valleys and mesas have rapidly filled up with cattle. It has only been about eighteen months since the first Texas stock cattle were shipped from the south to the north and northwest, by way of Denver, to mature and fatten. The trail from the south to the north over which many thousands of tired, foot-sore and worn-out cattle crept the whole summer, to reach their feeding grounds in the north and northwest,

will in a few years be a thing of the past, and the iron horse will take the cattle to points where it formerly took months to drive them. This year the trade was very much hampered on account of the quarantine regulations. Yet some 1,500 cars went by rail.

Denver is in the direct route to the north and northwest and though a good many cattle may be whirled by on the trains without stopping, yet large numbers stop to feed and rest and change hands.

With the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe already reaching down into the great breeding grounds of the south; with the Denver & New Orleans to tap other points of the south; with the Denver & Rio Grande spreading out like a net-work over the southwest; and other branches and feeders of it yet to be built; with the Denver & South Park reaching out toward the west; with the Burlington & Colorado pushing on west with a broad gauge; with other roads pushing out to the northwest,—what is to hinder an immense cattle trade to center here in the near future? Already more than half a million of cattle graze to the west of us beyond the continental divide, where only a few years ago the Indian with his scalping knife and rifle held undisputed sway. This is no fancy sketch but these are facts as they exist and will exist. With the laying out and building of railroads I have had nothing to do; but with the building up and systematizing the cattle trade of Denver I have had considerable to do, and now for nearly

fourteen years as a dealer and stockyards man I have tried to be awake to the wants of the trade, and have watched with interest the movements in all directions.

The over-ruling hand of Providence planted this city and caused the construction of the railroads and opened the way for the growing of the cattle, and if Denver does not become a great cattle market, she will not have fulfilled her destiny.

We have only to look back in the history of nations, states and cities, and communities, and see the course of events as they have developed in the fulness of time. America was not discovered until the nations of the earth were fitted by an unseen hand for this to become

"The land of the free and the home of the brave."

Gold was not discovered in California, though it was there by the million, till a semi-barbarious race was dispossessed by the brave American citizen soldiers. But to come nearer home, carbonates were not discovered by our fellow-citizen, Governor Tabor, in the Little Pittsburgh at Leadville, until railroads had been built to make the working of the mines an easy matter.

S. Loustano, a well-known cattle man, now living in Denver, told me that, in 1860 he prospected for gold over the ground in the neighborhood of the Little Pittsburgh and dug up carbonates and melted them into slugs to shoot rabbits with. Of what use would it have been to know their mar-

velous value with no railroads to haul in the supplies or haul out the ores, which would not have borne transportation to the Missouri river by ox teams. I could give other illustrations, but let these suffice for my purpose.

The introduction, use and present perfection of the refrigerator car have really been accomplished in the past ten years. Ten years ago such a thing as shipping dressed meat across the continent or Atlantic Ocean in refrigerators would have been considered impracticable. Now the meat could be shipped from Denver to Liverpool without risk. Some time since, Mr. Swift, of Chicago, told me that on one occasion their firm had a shipment of beef 42 days in transit from Chicago to Liverpool on account of damage to machinery of the steamer, and arrived in fair condition.

But I am drifting from the point I wished to make in regard to Denver as a cattle market. Twelve years ago such a thing as feeding cattle for beef for the Denver market was unknown and unthought of, for it would not have paid even if the alfalfa had been grown, cut, cured and stacked up for the cattle men, free of charge. Let me illustrate this by an incident. In March, 1874, Leon Le Fever, then a well-known cattle dealer of Denver, brought a lot of cattle into Scherrer & Clough's yards for sale. They were good beef, fat and sleek, though some were much better than others. As I had no cattle in and my son, N. H. Clough, needed some, I asked

Mr. Le Fever what he would charge to allow me to select the best for my son. After studying a moment he said he expected to get $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound for them and I could top out what my son needed at $\$2.62\frac{1}{2}$ per hundred. Of course I sprang into the saddle and soon had out what I considered the best, while Mr. Le Fever's face wore a very self-satisfied expression to think he was getting $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hundred pounds above the market for a part of his cattle. The cattle had never had anything to eat but what they gathered on the prairies, and I only alluded to it to show how values were considered then. To have fed cattle and brought them into Denver Market asking 50 to 25 cents per hundred pounds more than the ruling price, butchers and dealers would have raised their hands in horror. All this was changed some years ago. When a supply of half fat cattle could be no longer obtained from the prairie for the winter and spring market, I succeeded in getting the railroad rates reduced from \$150 per car to \$100 from Kansas City to Denver, and commenced shipping corn-fed cattle for the Denver and mountain markets, and notwithstanding the building of several other railroads, the rate has remained undisturbed for now nearly ten years from the river to Denver.

The marvelous value and heavy yield of Colorado's great forage plant, alfalfa, was then unknown, and the necessity for its use had not come. Then all the arable land of Colorado

that was under ditch was needed to grow wheat for the home market. Now, notwithstanding the large acreage devoted to the growth of alfalfa, clover and timothy, Colorado farmers are growing themselves poor by raising a large surplus of wheat beyond the needs of the home market. Then it would not have paid to have fed cattle for winter and spring markets. Now it pays and pays well, to those farmers who have the money to buy their feeding cattle judiciously in the fall, and understand the value of keeping them in comfortable quarters during cold, stormy weather and feeding them properly with all they will eat. In my judgment it is only a question of time, and that not far off, judging by the past, when Colorado will be exporting beef the year round, either in refrigerator cars or in the present livestock car, instead of as now about three months of the year,—in the fall; and I might ask what is the necessity of shipping and torturing the animals a thousand miles alive to sell them to men who slaughter and ship to the sea-boards, or across the ocean to feed the hungry nations of the old world, when we have as good facilities for the business here, and a climate unsurpassed on the continent. The handling of the feeding steers, as they have been brought here to be sold to feeders, and the re-handling of the same cattle when fed fat and brought back to be sold for the shambles, has contributed no inconsiderable part of my income in the past fifteen months. This must rapid-

ly increase, for how else can Colorado farmers dispose of their immense crops of forage with profit than to feed it to meat animals?

This trade will assume vast proportions when we add to these the thousands of cattle that are grazing to the west, northwest and southwest of Denver in small herds in the valleys and mesas of the Rocky Mountain region, on as succulent and rich grasses as the world produces as the few cattle which have matured and been brought to this market or shipped east from here will witness. The great bulk of the cattle have been taken onto this range within the last year or two as 1- and 2-year-olds, and when matured will be brought out in two, five or ten car lots. As the herds are small, many of them will seek a market here, as the owner

of a few car-loads does not want to go so far as Kansas City or Chicago, but would rather sell here and get his money and go home. The cattle kings to the east of us who graze their cattle in herds of 5,000 to 20,000 or more will, I presume, do in the future as they have done in the past—gather their cattle in large lots and send twenty, thirty or fifty cars at a time to a large market. The settlers may, however, so crowd in upon them as to make business on so large a scale impossible. To the west of us it is different. On account of the lay of the land, the herds are necessarily small. I would compare Denver as a cattle market to-day with Kansas City fifteen years ago and Chicago thirty-five years ago.

JOHN A. CLOUGH.

VINE-CLAD FRANCE.

MR. SESSIONS' SUMMER IN EUROPE AND AFRICA.

WE leave Paris on the 8.45 express for Bordeaux; it is a most delightful June morning. Paris is so gay and beautiful that we leave it with regret, but are to return again in August or September. We spent yesterday in calling on our minister plenipotentiary, Hon. Whitelaw Reid, to get our passport. He was very kind; we talked over our war experiences, and I congratulated him on his advancement from a poor boy in Greene County, Ohio, to war correspondent

of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, editor and then proprietor of the Xenia *Gazette*, then editor of the great newspaper, the New York *Tribune*, one of the most influential papers in the country, to United States Minister to France. He pays \$20,000 rent for his palace or hotel, as they call it in France, and only gets \$18,000 salary. He was considering the charges against an official at Nice for imprisonment of two New York ladies for a false bill by a dress-maker. They were thrown in prison

and insulted by the officials. One of them, an old lady, suffered a great nervous prostration, owing to the dirty, miserable prison, with dogs on the chairs and officials sitting on the benches smoking and staring at them in derision. The French authorities, at the request of our minister, liberated the ladies, paid back their money and reprimanded the officials, and now Mr. Reid asks that an apology be made and the guilty officials dismissed.

Our first stopping place on our way to Bordeaux is Orleans, where an old castle in ruins is seen near the depot. Our ride is a most delightful one. Peasants are gathering in their hay (the women cut the grass with scythes such as we cut brush with), then it is stacked up in little cocks as we put up oats. The fields are gay with bright red poppies and a blue wild flower, and they look like a beautiful flower garden. Along the whole distance, and in the depots, which we passed rapidly, are lovely flowers, and the old ancient-looking stone buildings and churches show us that we are not in America.

We stop at Saint Aubrais twenty-four minutes for buffet (breakfast). A menu is distributed in the cars and is first-class, for three francs, or sixty cents, including wine. The wines are said to be very poor and much adulterated. They tell of a wine merchant who when he died left as a legacy to his son a recipe, "how to make wine out of grapes," the latter being so seldom used in making wine that he was afraid it would be a lost art.

The young people on the train are very affectionate, and walk about when the train stops, hand clasped in hand very lovingly. "Sortie, Sortie," is printed on a half dozen or more little signs hanging out of different rooms at the depot and one American traveler thought it meant the name of the places and he wondered if all the towns were named "Sortie." He learned afterward that the word meant the way "out."

We are evidently passing through the grape-growing part of France, for we see miles and miles of vineyards, the vines being about a foot high. At every road crossing of the railroad is a little house and gate, with an old woman with a flag in her hand to open and shut it when the train passes. This is, no doubt, a great saving in expense in the end to the road in preventing accidents. We pass Blois, Amboise, Poitiers and Angouleme, places noted in history; but the train goes so rapidly that we can only catch a glimpse of them. Our *chemin de Fers* (cars) are fitted up elegantly with carpeted floors, silk covered cushion seats and backs, and covered ceilings with handsome linen lace tidies, and electric bells to call the guard, and net shelves extending around the car for your satchels and over garments. Each apartment holds four on each side, facing each other. We often have the whole apartment to ourselves, which is very luxurious. The second and third class have like apartments with hard seats and no upholstery.

We had a dirty ride for a few hours, but showers laid the dust and we rode along rapidly, stopping at only a few places. The country is level and uninteresting, and we are glad to get to Bordeaux, an old city on the Bay of Biscay with a population of 285,000, and in the center of the great wine-growing section of France. We take a walk on the quay and see a steamer ready to sail for the United States—a line of steamers running there direct—others are bound for Liverpool and other places. We stop at a first-class hotel, La France. We pass on our walk a very fine theater, built of stone and of attractive architectural proportions, the best in France outside of Paris, and it must have cost a large sum. It was all lighted up for the evening performance—"Jeanne d'Arc" was the play—and we could distinctly hear the orchestra. They have splendid music, with 50 or 60 musicians.

We went to the old cathedral, which is a splendid piece of architecture; it was about 9 o'clock in the evening, and quite a number of devout worshippers were scattered through the building amid the dim religious light. They seemed to be in groups, but sometimes were alone in a way-off corner, crossing themselves before a picture of the Virgin. They all had a sad, devout expression on their faces and seemed in deep meditation. We felt as though we were intruders and soon left.

A cold rain set in and it rained hard all night, and in the morning over-

coats were needed. We have not yet found the hot weather we were warned we should get, but there is time enough yet before we get around our long journey.

We are off for Spain, and pass many beautiful villas, suburban homes of the citizens of Bordeaux. The streets are full of ferns. The architecture of the houses is quaint, and we see many attractive cottages. In Paris and all the French cities we have visited the streets are clean and nice; the debris is gathered up by children as fast as it falls, and clean water runs in the gutters, keeping them clean. The French depots are clean, the buildings are of brick, ornamented with criss-cross wood in different shapes, and they are surrounded with roses and other flowers. One water-tank, in an out-of-the-way place in a pine forest, was covered with wild roses of different colors, white and pink which, were beautiful. In the pine forests along the road between Bordeaux and Spain white birches have been set out; the white of the birch bordering the green of the pine looks quite picturesque, with the green hedges nearer the road. We did not see in all that distance, any cattle feeding—only a few flocks of sheep. We noticed the peasants about the depots with long, pointed wooden shoes, turned up at the toes. I have sometimes wished I had bought a pair to take home with me to kick some men I have seen who, I thought, deserved it for their mendacity.

We had strawberries and cherries at

one hotel, some very large cultivated ones and some small wild ones, the latter being much sweeter than the former. We want to do as they do in Spain, so we squeeze orange juice over our berries which makes them delicious; if you don't believe it try it. All along the railroad from Paris we see great blocks of handsome cream-colored sandstone taken from the quarries.

We now cross a small stream and enter Spain at Irun, where the custom house officer calls on us to open our baggage for examination. We try our Spanish on him, "No tango nadoo sujeto a derecho," "I have nothing liable to duty," but that was not sufficient, and our baggage was opened, his hands thrust in, but very gently, and he politely closed the luggage and bid us "Buenos dias," "Good morning." Here the officers wear a different uniform from the French, and the people walk Spanish and talk Spanish and don't seem to understand French, although close neighbors. Cars are called in Spain "el coche." Our next stop was at San Sebastian, and our ride through the Pyrenees and along the bay was quite in contrast with the flat country we came through from Bordeaux. All around is a grand and picturesque scene of mountain and water. We were met at the station by Rev. Mr. Gulick, an American missionary who, with his wife, have a flourishing girls' school here, in a most charming situation on the bay. It seems good judgment for Protestants to take a

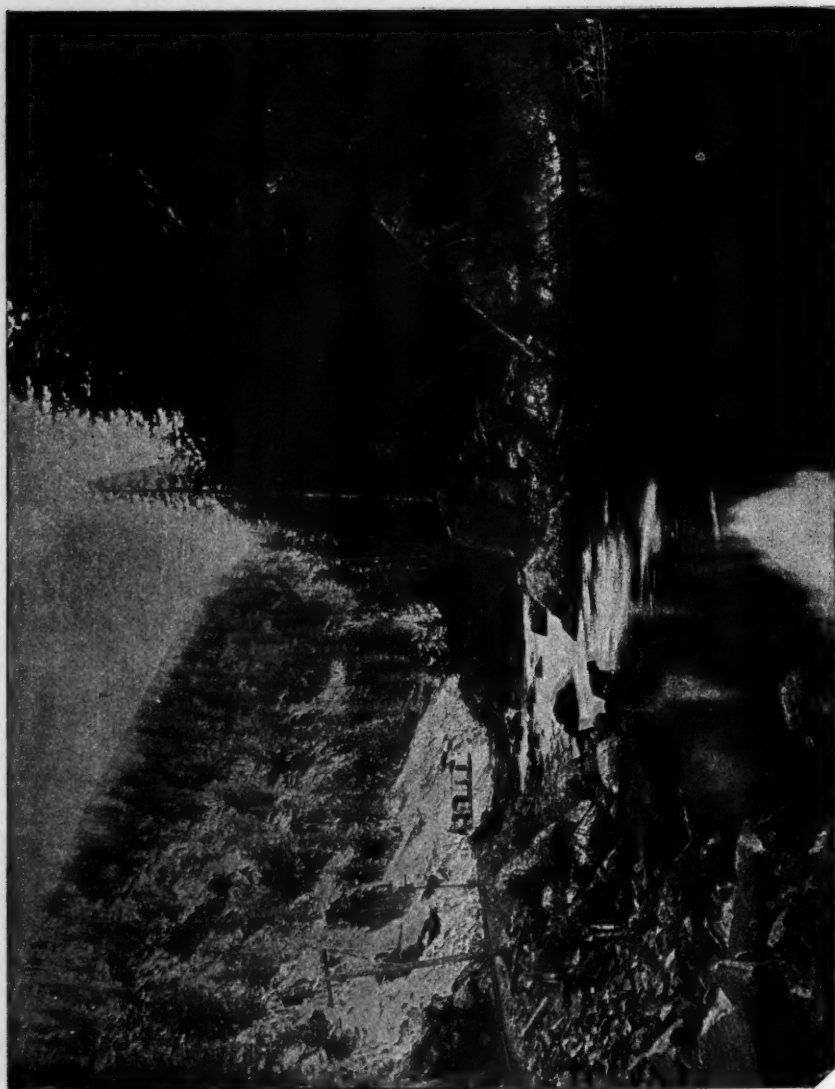
high position and gain the confidence of the people, if we expect to reach all classes by our schools and missionary stations. This has been done here, instead of going off into some poor, uninviting quarters. The situation and surroundings are all that could be desired and, as a result, young men and others are induced to attend the meetings on Sunday and at other times. On this Thursday evening weekly meeting all the members of the school and household were present, with many young men from the institute and a number of boys, with their blouses on, just from their work, and a number of older men and women from the common walks of life. The room holding perhaps one hundred and fifty, was full, and the sermon by the Spanish minister was eloquent and effective, judging from the attention he received. There are about fifty boarding pupils and seventy-six day scholars; they are taught by Mrs. Gulick, who was from Boston, Massachusetts, and by teachers, one each from the United States, Spain, Italy and Sweden; they are all well educated, very intelligent, and are devoted to their work. Each showed the marked physiognomy of the people of the country which she represented. The American girl, bright and vivacious, light complexion and black eyes, was a good representative of old Connecticut and a graduate of Mt. Holyoke seminary. She talks Spanish freely and has been here only a year. The Swedish young lady is of light, clear complexion,

broad intelligent features; she is a voluntary teacher, doing the work without compensation. The Italian is of typical Italian caste; classic features, bright and scholarly. The Spanish young lady has a dark complexion, jet black hair and sparkling black eyes; very much like the Spanish young ladies we meet on the streets everywhere in Spain, with black lace thrown gracefully over their heads and necks. There are two other Spanish teachers who do not speak English. They can teach six languages in the school, and their design is to add to their present work a school to teach the Spanish, Italian French and other languages to Spaniards, Americans, English and others who may desire to perfect themselves in these attainments. San Sebastian is the summer resort for Spain, as Newport is to the United States, and a more healthy, lovely place by the sea and mountains we have never seen in all our journeys. The walks, the rides, the boating, with picturesque scenery everywhere make it a most delightful resort.

Mr. Gulick has in anticipation the erection of a monument here by American ladies and others, of a large ladies' school building in 1892, in honor of Queen Isabella, who made it possible for Columbus to discover America by pawning or selling all her jewels to pay the expenses when all other means failed. What more fitting monument could be offered to so noble and self-sacrificing a woman? The location now overlooks Santa

Clara island and the castle on "Monte Orgullo," the harbor and bay of Biscay, and the mountains on either side. The larger number of the girls in the school are from Protestant families. All are subjected to the same rules and follow the same studies, including daily systematic study of the scriptures, and all study the same religious exercises. At first Mr. and Mrs. Gulick were subjected to scorn, and the missionaries and teachers were looked upon as people to be feared and shunned. Now, after seven years of work here, they are beginning to receive social recognition, and musicales are held in their chapel to which some of the best people go. Judging from what we heard, all branches, including music, are well taught, and the Andalusian dance with music by Andalusian girls from the south of Spain, though not taught in the school, was very quaint and interesting to us Americans.

I have rarely looked upon scenery more romantic than that from the walk we had to-day around the fortifications. The natural advantages on the high rocky hill or mountain are very great, overlooking the sea and commanding the harbor. It would be difficult to have a livelier walk than we had with one of the young lady teachers through the "Pases de la Caras," winding around Monte Orgullo, which the English took in 1813, and where monuments are erected to the officers who were killed during the attack. Lomas describes it as follows: "Let real Spanish sunlight



EAGLE RIVER CANON, NEAR THE MOUNT OF THE HOLY CROSS, COLORADO.
On the Line of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad.

come glinting through the trees, lie hot on the white horseshoe of glistening sand that runs around to Santa Clara, light up the blue waves that dash fiercely, even upon ever so still a day, against the rocks below us, or the emerald green speck of La Isla, and make sleepy the old walls of La Monta that frown out on the world four hundred feet above, and it would be hard to say what is lacking to make a perfect picture." As we come down to the old part of the city—just one street not destroyed by the English in 1813—we come upon old, dingy houses and two churches, within a few minutes' walk of each other—Santa Maria and San Vicente.

In the morning, with two ladies who could speak Spanish and were familiar with the lovely surroundings of San Sebastian, we took a carriage ride some six or eight miles in the country to visit Hernani and Andovia with its huge Romanesque church on a high hill reached through a long narrow street, with houses, or flats, as we should call them. There do not seem to be any houses in the cities or large towns of Spain; they all live in flats. Our road leads over very steep hills, but when we reach the top we are amply repaid for our labor by the grand view of lofty pointed peaks and rugged mountain tops with villas on their sides, the ocean in the distance, and compact San Sebastian nestling by the sea beneath us. We pass the palace of Queen Regent Christina, who spends her summers here. We meet the peasants coming to the city

with their carts and handsome dun-colored oxen. Sometimes a cow and bull were fastened together and a woolly sheepskin over their heads; they draw their burdens by their heads and are not yoked together as with us. The driver does not look as intelligent as the oxen; he walks about ten paces ahead of his team, turning around every few minutes to point his long wand at the foreheads of the oxen and utter sharp "arre, arre" without a shade of effect. They all walk along leisurely with the absence of any purpose, save that of easeful existence. The Spanish are notoriously lazy and indolent. Everywhere in the country are numerous apple trees and "sidra" (cider) is the principal drink of the peasants and poor people. The wines are adulterated and brought from France. The peasant women are doing their washing in some small ponds of water, and as we came back by another road we saw them wade into the river knee-deep, along the banks, in long rows, washing. We soon came upon a large building in the shape of the Roman colosseum, and were told that it was built for bull fights, and would hold ten or twelve thousand people. The building was the most attractive to be seen, built of wood and covered with stucco. The performances take place twice a week and many people come down from France to see them.

We leave San Sebastian with regret, even with Burgos and all the other glories in the south of Spain looming in the distance. The scenery up the

valley of the Urumea is very picturesque. It is sufficiently wooded and is dotted with white villages, country-looking farm houses, and quaint old churches. As we approach the Pyrenees it becomes much grander and is infinitely lovely. The train seems to crawl up the endless interlacing chain of mountains—the last spurs of the

Pyrenees. It was a lovely day and the mists wreathed in fantastic and ever-shifting forms around the undefined and indefinable peaks. We pass through many tunnels, and soon come to the other side of the mountains, which are bare and rugged.

F. C. SESSIONS.

SAN SEBASTIAN, Spain, 1889.

"THE OLD AND THE NEW WEST."

TWO MEMORABLE SPEECHES, BY HON. MURAT HALSTEAD AND HON. H. B. CHAMBERLIN.

AT the first annual banquet of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade, held January 7th, 1890, the Hon. Murat Halstead of the Cincinnati *Commercial-Gazette*, as one of the distinguished guests of the occasion, delivered a most interesting address in response to the sentiment, "The Old and the New West," the conclusion of which is as follows:

"I have long been estimating myself a Western man. Many and many a time I have spoken in the Eastern cities of our own country as a Western man, and this center of population that at the beginning of the government was near the city of Annapolis, following a line almost straight west for nearly forty years has been in the State of Ohio, in the census of 1870 it was found in the country and near the place where General Grant was born [applause], but at the last census it had crossed the Ohio river and was

in Kentucky. You know this matter of the center of population is ascertained with perfect scientific accuracy, as much as any matter of astronomy. The center of population was then seven miles southwest of Cincinnati. It is still on the way westward and the time will come, I fancy perhaps within the lives of those now living, when the center of population will cross the Mississippi valley and already it is becoming a matter of difficulty and embarrassment to ascertain just what is the West. But the three great states that are the actual center of the Union are, I believe, the States of Missouri, Kansas and Colorado. [Loud applause.] And this State of Colorado seems to have been set apart for a great destiny. It came into the Union, as I believe many thought at the time and perhaps President Jefferson himself, in violation of the constitution. A great

many hard things have been said of President Jefferson, but as Senator Hoar so beautifully said, and it answers all—and yet he comes down to us with the Declaration of Independence in one hand, and the Louisiana purchase in the other. [Applause.]

“The enterprise, the audacity, the dash of the Democratic party that took us into the Mexican war, annexed this territory to the southward here and made up the final fair proportions of our country on this border, so that you here inherit from Jefferson and from Pope this territory of Colorado. And then we are indebted to others later, and as I have mentioned one party I may be allowed to speak of the other that put upon this superb state the seal of liberty. [Applause.] We have, therefore, something of the history and something of the poetry of Spain in this association. The very name of your state indicates that recollection. You have another title to the high consideration of the country. This Colorado is the Ohio of this second century. [Applause.] You have read a great deal about the Ohio men and their enterprise, and the number of them who have been presidents and generals and cabinet officers and statesmen, and of their push and success in many fields. It arises largely from the fact that the people of Ohio were the representative people after the close of the revolutionary war of all the original thirteen states. Not one of them but sent its blood to Ohio, and those who came there were the men, officers and soldiers of the war

of the revolution, seeking the then new territory and land of promise, and from the commingling of North and South that came into Ohio grew up this race of Ohio men.

“You here in Colorado, at the end of a greater war and a greater revolution, which was not of independence, but the vindication of our nationality, you are getting from the whole country the material of a population here with a higher destiny and a brighter field than has yet been known in the history of this continent. [Loud applause.] I know the interest that you take and feel in the question of deep water on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. That is a deep question and a great one, and it is an indication of the capacity of the people of this community that they have already grasped that splendid idea. Here to the south of you is Texas, the France of the continent. [Applause.] It is as great as France in its natural resources, and beyond Texas is our Mediterranean sea, the central ocean of the American continent. [Applause.] What is there on the shores of the Mediterranean that you cannot find with increased grandeur on the shores of our Mediterranean sea here to yourself? That is your outlet into the great world beyond the salt waters. [Applause.] And here in this territory, your mountains are the everlasting fountains from which are poured the fertilizing waters. Why here you have the fatness of Egypt and the splendor of Switzerland in one magnificent combination. [Applause.] What

are the little irrigations of Egypt that for ages have produced wealth upon the banks of the Nile to these streams that flow down from the mountains, and have with them the water power also that will move the machinery with which will be worked up the mineral resources that are your own patrimony. And coal, cheap coal is what? Cheap power. And what is cheap power? It is wealth: it is enduring prosperity; and the coal you have as Pennsylvania has, both anthracite and bituminous coal, and I am told there is as much coal land in Colorado as the whole surface of Pennsylvania, beside your unlimited deposits of gold, silver, copper and lead. Such a combination exists nowhere else upon the earth. [Loud applause.]

"The growth of this city has been called marvelous. Why, it is the logic of the situation and the very growth of the circumstances that are about you. [Applause.] There is nothing in it that is strange, except that here in the center of the Rocky Mountain range has been heaped together these wonders with which the works of man may go on to prosperity. And in this lofty land is the natural home of liberty, for the mountains have always been the friends of freedom, and here where I see your schoolhouses are more distinguished than in any other city I think I have ever visited [applause], you are provided with the material, the population that has gathered here upon the vast plains, fertilized from these

mountains, enriched with their enormous and unbounded wealth; above the storms, for the blizzard does not strike here, nor yet the sirocco, while the cyclone goes wandering eastwards and touches you not, for you are guarded by these mighty barriers.

"Your state stands also above all the minor considerations. There will be no sectional feeling or bitterness. The old questions will pass away and you will grow up with a great and a more glorious national patriotism whose influence will flow down like your rivers, one of which runs to the Gulf of California, while another runs away north to the Missouri and another still into the Gulf of Mexico. So your influences will flow out through the land which will be irrigated with your patriotism and in the generations that are to come there will be a higher development, a recognition of that superior patriotism of the probity of the citizen and of public honor upon which are laid the foundations of enduring prosperity. [Applause.] And one of our own poets said in his way, when he went out pensively, he heard voices of angels that were singing 'Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,' and you will observe that 'Colorado' will fill the rhythm.

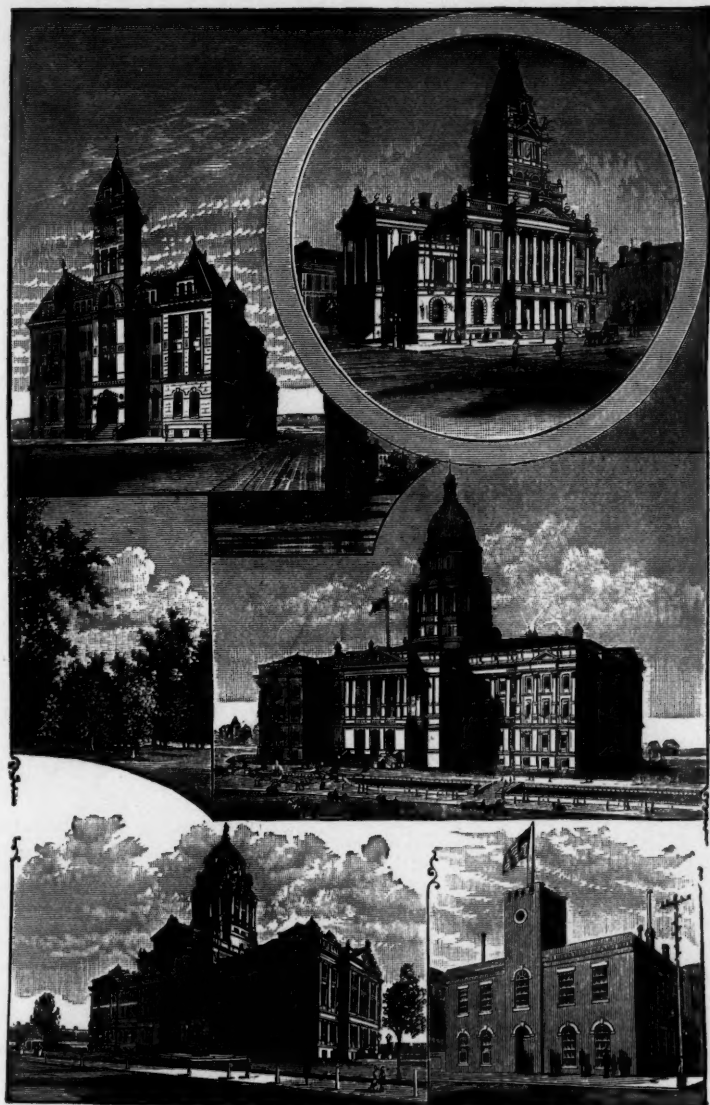
'Colorado, Colorado, to glory arise,
The queen of the world and the child
of the skies.'

"[Cheers.] There are just two more lines of that:

'Thy genius commands thee with rap-
ture to hold,

While ages on ages thy splendors unfold.'"

[Loud applause.]



VIEW OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS, DENVER.

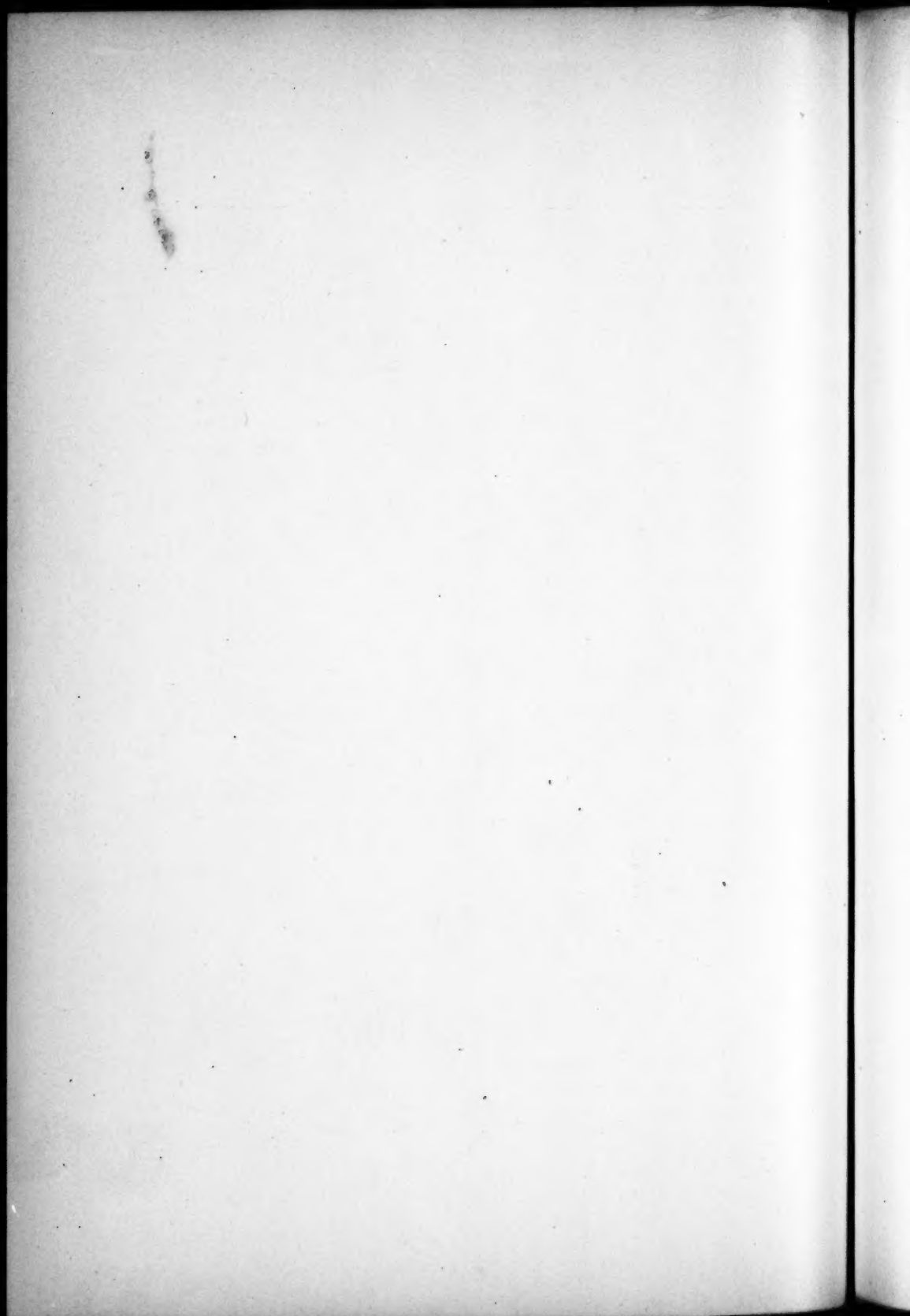
City Hall.

Arapahoe County Court-house.

New Post-office.

New Capitol Building.

U. S. Branch Mint.



Upon the same theme. "The old and the new West," the Hon. H. B. Chamberlin, President of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, while a delegate to the National Silver Convention recently held at St. Louis, in presenting a silver gavel to the chairman thereof, said.—

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I assume that the members of this convention will not need to be assured of the deep and abiding interest of the citizens of Denver in the important question before this body. The Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade desiring to emphasize their sympathy have had made this solid silver gavel and have commissioned me to present it to the chairman of this convention. When Kansas in 1861 was about to be received in the union she said to her western county, now Colorado, 'you are of no value to me, go and rustle for yourself,' and Colorado has been rustling ever since. I bring you the appreciative greeting of no mean city. Denver has increased her population from 35,000 to 150,000 in eight years, 307 per cent., the largest proportionate increase made by any city of the size in the United States. It is impossible to have any adequate conception of the future of Denver and Colorado without a definite knowledge of the natural resources of the state. The total area of Colorado is 66,332,800 acres, being equal to the combined area of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Of this 34,000,000 acres are timber and mineral land while 32,

000 acres are arable land. You will note that I use the word arable rather than sterile, for all this land is capable of the highest state of cultivation when water has been brought to it. The question of water for this great territory, while in a measure unsolved, is in process of solution through the efforts of the National or State Governments, and we have no doubt that future years will see, through the storage of the mountain waters in reservoirs, this entire tract of country under the most perfect cultivation. It has been my fortune within a few weeks to give a little time to the study of irrigation in Lombard, Italy, where the system has its most perfect exemplifications. I found there 5,250,000 acres under irrigation, supporting a population 3,557,000 people, so that it is not too much to expect when the Columbus centennial comes 100 years hence, and Denver, by common consent is selected for the World's Exposition of that century, that Colorado will have a population equal to that of Great Britain and Ireland, 30,000,000 souls. Crops by irrigation are much greater than from rainfalls. The crop of wheat in Colorado is from thirty-five to seventy bushels per acre; oats from forty to ninety bushels; barley, from forty to ninety-five bushels; potatoes, from 200 to 1,000 bushels; alfalfa and other fodder crops three to six tons per acre. You will recognize these figures to be from 33 1-3 to 50 per cent. in advance of the very best harvest of states not using irrigation. While we have but

2,000,000 acres at present under cultivation, as this area is enlarged Colorado will furnish a large export, especially in cereals. The irrigation system comprises 1,000 miles of large canals, and 35,000 miles of canals of secondary size, the total cost of which has been upwards of \$8,000,000.

"The steady advance in the output of the precious minerals has convinced those who give careful thought to the future of the State that from this source alone we have a source of wealth which the most sanguine has thus far failed to appreciate. The income from this industry in 1888 was \$35,000,000, and the men employed in that branch of industry in Colorado are equal in number to that required for the cultivation of 5,000,000 acres of corn, and the value of the product is the same as that from such an area of corn. It has been stated by such a competent authority as Congressman Kelly of Pennsylvania that Gunnison County alone has more coal uncovered than all of Pennsylvania, and that in the same county more hematite iron has been opened up than has been found in the entire State of Pennsylvania. I venture to assert that in but one place in the world, and that in Colorado, is a manufacturing corporation having a contract for coal delivered on its ground at so low a figure as fifty cents a ton. The smallest contract I heard of after making considerable inquiry the past summer in Great Britain, was three shillings and seven pence per ton, and that is

at a manufacturing establishment at Newcastle. The coal area of Colorado covers an area of 220 miles from north to south, and 120 miles from east to west, and almost the whole of this territory is underlaid with lignite, bituminous and anthracite coal.

"While Denver is the base of supplies for but a small population compared with the great eastern cities, you may be surprised to learn that we have 398 manufacturing establishments, employing 8,409 people, paying in wages \$5,829,348, with a product of \$30,333,360, the average wages paid for each man, woman and child being \$7.10 greater than the average of any city in America; \$12,000,000 worth of buildings are in process of erection, exclusive of the great capitol building. This is a fitting sequel to the marvelous real estate sales of the past year, which amounted to upwards of \$44,000,000, when 1,827 new buildings were erected. The realty sales for 1889 will exceed \$60,000,000, and the number of buildings 2,529. It is appropriate that this gift should be composed of silver, the chief product of Colorado. The output from the precious metals last year was \$35,000,000, and the total metallic output of Colorado has been \$297,000,000. I trust this convention will start rolling a ball which will not cease motion until the nations of the world accord to silver the place it should have as a measure of values equal to gold."

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

THE DIARY OF AN OFFICER IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY
IN 1794.

THE following curious documents were found among the papers of the late Col. William Claus of Niagara, Ontario, for many years the deputy-superintendent of the British Indian Department for upper Canada. It seems probable that it was written by John Chew, an officer in the same department, for the information of Major-General Simcoe, the Lieutenant-Governor of the province. The party to which the writer was attached was apparently commanded by Cap. Matthew Elliott, afterwards deputy-superintendent of the Western Indians. With the exception of a single short paragraph relating to Elliott's private affairs, the manuscript is transcribed *verbatim*.

Lossing alludes to the expedition of the Indians described in the journal in these terms: "Wayne was compelled to wait until late in the summer of 1794 before he felt strong enough to move forward. Meanwhile the Indians appeared in force. On the 30th of June, about a thousand of them, accompanied by a number of British soldiers and French Canadian volunteers made their appearance before Fort Recovery, and during the day assailed the garrison several times. During these assaults the Americans

lost fifty-seven in killed, wounded and missing and two hundred and twenty-one horses. The Indians lost more they said than in the battle with St. Clair."

Diary of an officer, J. C., in the Indian country opposed to General Wayne.

GLAISE, 14th June, 1794.

This day on our arrival here, we were saluted by a discharge of small arms; our party being fourteen in number, returned the compliment.

The advanced party of the Indian army gives information of their hearing the report of General Wayne's cannon from their encampment which is about sixteen miles south of this.

Several Indians have been lately killed by the American scouts. A party was discovered a few days ago consisting of about twenty-six men, some on horseback; the Indians followed their trail but could not come up with them.

Sunday, June 15th.

The Ottawas and Wyandotts joined the army this day and were saluted by a discharge of small arms from a line of about six hundred warriors drawn up for that purpose.

Monday, June 16th.

This day a council of war was held at the Nuquijake Town—the result

of which was "that every white man, either English or French, residing among, or getting their livelihood by the Indian trade, or otherwise, now within the limits of their country shall immediately join the Indian army to defend the territory in which their mutual interest is so greatly concerned; that their father (the English) had always told them to defend their country and they were happy to see us in this critical period in order to have our advice, consequently were unanimously of the opinion that they could not dispense with our presence at a juncture when the event would probably determine their future happiness. Resolved, therefore, that we shall join the army now in readiness to march." A bunch of black wampum was handed to Captain Elliott in token of this determination.

Wednesday, June 18th.

The resolution of the army respecting us permitted us of no alternative but to prepare ourselves with all speed, which we this day set about and changed our mode of dress and put on the warrior's, which was correctly recommended for fear of mistakes in action.

Provisions begin to get scarce, so much so that our mess is a mere *scramble*, that is to say, he who eats the fastest reaps the best share of a small quantity. The little pork and flour which remained here was nearly out before we came, notwithstanding Captain E— talks of leaving some in case of Col. Mc'Kee's arrival. Our fare is very ordinary, nothing better

than what the French call *grosse sac-regieune*, which is Indian corn boiled whole. Tom will make an excellent campaigner, he generally comes off with the best share.

One hundred and twenty-seven Machinac and Saginaw Indians joined the army. They committed depredations and ravished the women in the villages where they had to pass, therefore Captain Bluejacket recommended those who are yet to join may be directed at the Rapids to follow the track of the Otter and his party to the general rendezvous at the Fallen Timber, and not to come this route, as those villages will be destitute of men and under no protection.

Thursday, June 19th.

A large number of warriors marched off to-day to join the advanced army and to-morrow the last are to move. The number cannot be exactly ascertained, owing to their irregular distribution until the whole body is together, but it is supposed that the total at present cannot be much less than fifteen hundred.

Wampum is so very scarce that enough cannot be collected to make up a belt in order to send with Blackbeard to the southern Indians on a matter of the utmost importance. Bluejacket says that the wampum he received was not for the Nuquijake chiefs but for his own purpose, and requests that the little pony may not be delivered to Knaggs, as the said Mr. Knaggs having no manner of claim.

It is to be lamented that five hundred spears could not be procured in time, as it is conjectured that Wayne's dependence is chiefly on his horse and riflemen. I am persuaded myself that spears would be the most effectual instruments to resist cavalry. It has been my invariable opinion that the best plan would be to starve out the garrison and cut off their retreat, considering the situation of the Indians and their active spirit over a vanquished enemy. I have endeavored to imbue this idea; whether it will take I cannot say. My confined latitude obliges me to subscribe my name

J. C.

Camp at the old Fallen Timber, sixty-six miles south of the Glaise.

June 23d, 1794.

We left the Glaise the 20th, and only arrived here this day on account of our being obliged to encamp every day at one or two o'clock in order to give time to the hunters, as our whole dependence is upon them for provisions, which they have supplied us hitherto in great abundance. The Otter and his party in their route from Roche de Bout killed forty deers and five bears.

Tobacco and ammunition will shortly be wanted, and must be procured as soon as we are able to take a sufficient number of the enemy's horses to send for it.

Remains at the Glaise about 140 bushels of corn of the quantity that was purchased from the traders, which amounted in all to about 313 bushels.

5

Camp at the old Fallen Timber.

June 24th, 1794.

An express arrived from Buckengellis, the purport of which is that he had determined to take another route to the westward, and join the main army near Fort Recovery, in order to prevent the possibility of the enemy making a sortie on the towns without being discovered.

We are now in camp 1,014 men exclusive of the Delawares, and a number of other parties that are daily expected from different quarters, which when together will amount to about 2,000.

Camp at the old Fallen Timber,
Wednesday, June 25th.

Sent off a reconnoitering party towards Fort Greenville, where we understood the main body of the enemy lies.

Although Buchengellis' division was to move on the 20th along with the remainder of the Glaise Indians, intelligence is just received that he had not moved on the 24th, a circumstance very extraordinary, and [which] cannot be accounted for excepting the rum that was brought to the Glaise by Roundhead's sister and Ducbouquet's wife had got among them.

Fifty Saginaws arrived.

Camp on Kettle Creek, eighty-two miles from the Glaise.

Thursday, June 26th.

This day we marched south by west in open files, leaving an interval of about ten rods between each; our hunters at the same time scouring the woods on our flanks and ahead of the army.

Yesterday deserted from the army seven Indians living at the mouth of the Detroit river.

Our hunters espied a scouting party of the enemy dressed like Indians. Camp ninety computed miles from the Glaise.

Friday, June 27th.

Marched this morning from Kettle Creek west about four miles, crossed Harmar's track, and came into a road made by the enemy last winter thirty-four miles in length from Fort Greenville, followed the said road S.S.W. four miles, and encamped about twelve o'clock to give time to the Wyandotts and others in rear to join. Forty Miamies joined. Sent off two parties on a *diconvert*. One of these met a party of Chickasaws, killed one and brought in his scalp.

The White Loon, a Seneca, came from the Ohio and says that a vast number of troops, wagons, &c., came across that river and reached to the forts in number about 3,000.

The Delawares have behaved shabbily. We have not yet seen them. We expect the Wyandotts to join to-day. The bearer of this goes off with a green scalp of one of the Chickasaw spies in order to hurry up the rear.

Borrowed from Blanchette 73 lbs. of powder and 80 lb. ball to be returned at the rapids two for one.

A few days now will produce interesting events.

Camp on a branch of the Wabash 95 miles from the Glaise.

Saturday, June 28th.

Continued on the same road leading

to Fort Greenville S. by W. six miles marching in twelve open files. Twenty-five Mingoes joined.

The number of deer killed this day computed at two hundred and as many turkeys.

A Miami Indian came into camp and says that Wells had killed five more of his nation near the Miami towns.

The number of men this day in camp amounts to 1,159, one hundred and nine of them without arms.

This night ten men to be posted on the Greenville road; bells stopped, horses tied up and the men to have their arms in order. Cutting off the ammunition between the forts and the Ohio is the only project by which we could promise success, but as the Northern Indians take the lead we are forced to change our course to-morrow for Fort Recovery, where nothing effectual can be done, but on the contrary the means perhaps of discovering our force will put the enemy upon their guard.

Camp, 120 miles from the Glaise.

Sunday, June 29th.

Detached twelve men to take a prisoner in order to get information respecting the force of Wayne's army, and when the provision brigade is to set off from Fort Washington. About ninety Wyandotts joined. John Norton is supposed to have deserted to the enemy.

Camp before Fort Recovery 128 miles computed from the Glaise.

June 30th.

Our spies came in and gave informa-

tion of a vast number of posthorses being arrived at Fort Recovery last night and probably would return this morning, consequently marched west four miles; came upon the van of the brigade, made an attack and killed sixteen men, took four prisoners, 300 pack-horses, thirty bullocks and a few light horses. The garrison attempted to give them assistance by sending out the light horse, but they were soon driven in again. In this attack we had only three men killed but the Indians were so animated [that they] kept up a continued fire for a whole day upon the fort by which they lost seventeen men killed and as many wounded. I am sorry to say that for want of good conduct this affair is far from being so complete as might be expected. Captain Beaulvin was shot thro' the body very near the heart but perhaps not mortal.

The garrison at Fort Recovery is 350, twenty Chickasaws and a party of light horse. Fort Recovery consists of block-houses, mounted with cannon and picketed between. The fort kept up a continual fire and even now and then a shell, together with small arms, so as we were not able to bring off some of the dead and wounded.

Four Wyandotts met a party of Chickasaws and had one wounded and another killed or taken prisoner. Between Forts Recovery and Greenville they have about one hundred Chickasaws to serve as scouts and expect some hundreds more to come

as a prisoner says. Wells, May and the Chickasaw chief were killed in the attack. Had we two barrels of powder Fort Recovery would have been in our possession with the help of Sinclair's cannon.

Camp E. N. E. from Fort Recovery on the head of the Wabash River,

July 1st, 1794.

This day we buried our dead and carried off our wounded to this place. One Chickasaw more killed.

The Lake Indians all went off this day. General Wayne is to commence his campaign about the middle of next month. He expects an augmentation to his force of about 3,000 militia from Kentucky and 1,000 Chickasaws and Chocktaws; he is to build a fort at the Glaise and proceed from thence towards Detroit. Captain Gibson, commandant at the fort, is killed.

July 2d.

After the Lake Indians went off, the whole army was breaking up, but a message came from the Delawares that they were (at last) upon the march and would join this day; the Four Nations in consequence will wait until their arrival, and if they can agree to proceed from hence in a circular route to Fort Hamilton, where they ought to have gone at first.

Instead of having about 2,000 men as was expected, we will not now have above 500. Such a disappointment never was met with.

(sg.) J. C.

John Norton found, he being lost in the woods for several days, as he

says. The Delawares joined. A council of war was held and it was unanimously agreed that it was better for the army to return to the Glaise since all the Lake Indians at all events were going back and the country now alarmed so as to prevent us making any stroke upon the provision-brigades and also that there was the greatest probability that Wayne would not turn out to fight till the Kentucky militia were arrived; the Delawares in the meantime to keep a lookout and watch the motions of the enemy.

The number of the enemy killed in

the last attack cannot be ascertained. A great many must have been killed when they came out of the fort, together with several shot through the embrasures. A great groaning was heard in the fort, so that the dead and wounded may be nearer fifty than the number before mentioned that being the number only of those we have seen. I must observe with grief that the Indians never had it in their power to do more and have done so little. It is not above eighty miles from the Glaise to Fort Recovery and can be rid in one day.

ERNEST CRUIKSHANK.

CHANGE OF NAMES IN THE UNITED STATES.

SOMETHING like the word decay of Max Muller's theory of language growth is to be observed in the change and assimilation of foreign family names in this country. There are family names known to this country alone; not only are we building up a nationality which, owing to its components, is a distinct one, but we are beginning to have a stock of names distinctively national. This has come about in several ways. An uneducated foreigner emigrates to this country and spells his name according to sound; a branch of a native family moves to a new section of the country and becoming ignorant loses the old spelling; or a foreigner settles here and his unlearned neighbors give his name a spelling and pronunciation

which he is forced to adopt. These processes, repeated and combined, have twisted many names so far out of their original forms that it is very difficult to recognize them. Names which in their original forms had pleasing sounds have taken grotesque sounds or meanings which are often annoying to the persons bearing them. Stately French names have become positively ridiculous.

The names of the foreigners who have come to this country in multitudes during the last thirty years have not begun to change much. For years to come there will be too many who can give the correct pronunciation to foreign names to allow them to be "barbarized" by the English speaking population. The names

which have been barbarized belong to the descendants of the French, Dutch and Germans who settled in the thirteen colonies before the Revolution. The descendants of the colonists from the British Isles have also suffered from the metamorphosis of names; but of course in no such degree as the three first nations mentioned. The principal change of British names was brought about by the emigration to Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee in the early part of the century. Educated families relapsed into ignorance in the new country. There were no facilities for educating the children, and inability to pronounce and spell their names properly, naturally resulted. In all the changes of foreign names there is an assimilation or actual change to English names. In some instances a foreign name will be changed to a name made up of English words, yet which had no existence as an English name. A good example is Tarbox, from the French Tarbois. Often a name will be translated into English words which were never used as names. For examples, Short-sleeves, Butterfly, both from the French.

As was said before, the names which have undergone the greatest change are the French names. A French element was introduced into this country before the Revolution by the Huguenot immigration to New England, New York and South Carolina, and the distribution of the conquered Acadians among all the colonies. The French of Louisiana are not considered

in this article, as they have retained their language and their names. The French element of the colonies is hardly to be traced among the present population, purely because the old names have been lost. Yet Weiss estimates that over one hundred thousand Huguenots came to this country before the Revolution, and this would be no inconsiderable number at a time when the population of the country barely exceeded three millions. Study of American names will show us that descendants of these French are numerous, though hidden under Anglicized names. Of course it is impossible to give anything like a complete list of these Anglicized, or rather Americanized French names. A few of the more common and interesting ones will suffice.

Doolittle is from De L'Hotel; Deny from Denis; Noyes and Delano are from De La Noye; Denio from De Noyan; Langley from L'Anglais; Mullins from Moulins; Mowry from Maury; Dangerfield from D'Angerville; Danvers and Denver from D'Anvers; Dabney from D'Aubigne; Vilas from Viliers; Hartrell from D'Estrelle; De Young from De Yongh; Gano from Ganot; Maynard from Mesnard; Duffy from Du Fay; Bunker from Boncieux; Demery and Demorest from Des Marais; Jermain from German, Yarman and Jarman from Germaine; Pettit, Poteet, Petty, Pattee, Pettee, Peatie and Pettis from Petit; Bloss from De Blois; Bose, Boss and Boyce from Du Bois; Bowdoin, the name of a Massachusetts

Governor, is from Baudoin; Blancpied (Whitefoot) became Blanped, Blumpy and Whitefoot; Xavier became Sevier; some Seviars went across the Alleghanies and the name became Seavey. An Acadian family, St. Vrain, settled on Buzzard's Bay and became Savary. Acadians settled among the Pennsylvania Germans, and Le Beau became Lebo, De Jean became Deshong, Deshon, and even Schunck. The beautiful Le Moine became the prosaic Lemon though this is an English name also. The changes of these French names has hardly been for the better. History, genealogy and euphony have been lost by the change. An effort ought to be made to go back to the old forms. Even their euphony alone ought to recommend the old name. Surely Du Bois is better than Boss or Bsse, De Jean than Schunck, Le Moine than Lemon, or De L'Hotel than Doolittle.

Besides the old French element there is the modern French Canadian population which is worth considering. The main change in French Canadian names is in translation. There are 500,000 French Canadians in the United States, and fully a fourth have English names. Where they are unable to render their name into English, they adopt a name outright. Sometimes in their ignorance they take a Scotch or Irish name beginning with Mac. Even where they retain their old names they spell them most barbarously.

The descendants of the New York

Dutch retain the old names almost unchanged. The local preposition "Van" is frequently followed by a name which has been mutilated. The "Van" corresponds to the German "Von," and the French "De."

Van Tassel is from Van Texel; Van Ornum, Van Arnum, Van Orman and Van Norman are from Van Arnhem; Van Nostrand is from Van Ostrand; Van Dusen from Van Dousen; Van Fleet from Van Vliet; Van Wyck from Van Wijk; Van Reed from Van Vreede; Van Amee, Van Ammen, Van Name, Van Namee and Van Nammen are from Van Namur; Frieze and De Freese from De Vries; Klute from Kluit; Worden from Woerden; Beekman from Boekman; Bogert from Boomgart; Fosdick from Fosdijk; Wendell from Vondel; Youngblood from Jonckbloet. The "sen" of many names like Petersen, Eversen, Etc., has become "son," making them English names.

The Germans of Pennsylvania have retained their language for almost a century and a half. Change in their names has been very slight. It has been in the line of making names which are phonetically equivalent, orthographically equivalent also. Kohl becomes Cole; Goetz becomes Gates; Gauss, Goss; Schutz, Sheets; Kurtz, Curtis; Weiss, Wise; Soehle, Seely; Boetcher, Betcher and Beecher; Muller, Miller; Kuhn, Keene; Arnholt, Arnold; Bach, Back and Baugh; Reuss, Royce and Russ. Numerous examples of German and English names which are phonetically equiv-

alent, will suggest themselves to anyone who knows German. The inevitable tendency will be to give German names the English form of spelling. Even in towns full of Germans, the uncompromising Americans have begun to fasten English pronunciations upon Teutonic names. Kroncke and Leuders struggle hard against becoming Cronk and Luders, but it is in vain. The American insists upon pronouncing the German spelling according to the English method of pronunciation or spelling the German pronunciation according to the English method of spelling and the German names fare badly.

Changes in English names are not to be looked for. Trivial differences in spelling occur, but in most instances these differences arose in England before the family emigrated. Celtic names have changed somewhat; Welsh Ap John, Ap Robert, and other Ap names have become Upjohn, Up-robert, Propert, Applejohn, etc. The Central states are full of families bearing names commencing with the patronymic Mac, which are not to be found in the Clan Book of Scotland or O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees. McLeod has become McLoud and McCloud; McCouch has become McCook; McGowan (Smithson) has become McGown, McKown, Magoon and Smithson.

The English nation is of Scandinavian descent in part, and names like Olson and Hanson, which in this country are regarded as unmistakable signs of Scandinavian origin, in

England are found alongside of Johnson, Thomson and other names generally supposed to be English. In three generations the genealogy will alone be able to tell whether the American with "son" to his name is a descendant of the Viking settlers of the North of England or the peaceful emigrant to the Great Northwest.

Italy has become one of the great colonizing nations in the past few years, but South America and Africa have received most of her emigrants. Spain has very few of her children in the parts of the country which were originally English. Consequently we find few American names of South European origin. An old Virginia family, Taliaferro, pronounces and sometimes spells its name Tolliver. Spanish Gonzalez became Gunsalaus in New Netherlands.

Bohemians and Poles form a large portion of our city population at present, but the Americans will not begin to barbarize their names until they can pronounce them.

This changing of names is not the slight thing it at first appears. Rapid Anglicizing of foreign names will give the impression a century hence that the people of the United States are an almost pure Anglo-Saxon people. The vast majority of names will be English. Upon that fact will be based the statement and belief that the Americans are transplanted Englishmen. And in face of the seeming evidence who can successfully combat the statement? A few men, who perhaps have retained the old German or

Irish name, will pull down volumes of immigration statistics to show that in such and such years so many thousand immigrants landed on our shores. Their opponents will say, "where are they now? Where are the descendants? Where do you find German and Irish names?" By arguments like these American historians are seeking to prove false the statements of French historians regarding the number of Huguenots who came to this country. They do it in good faith. It seems incredible to them that so many people could come to this country and leave almost no descendants. They seek to account for the discrepancy between the apparent facts and the statements of the French historians. In order to do so they say that the French historians exaggerate the number of Huguenots exceedingly, and then conceding that a few Huguenots did come, they remark that they died out after a few generations. The colonies of other nationalities are treated in the same way by the historian.

Writers of the Revolutionary epoch speak of the composite character of the population. Indeed, if we are to believe them the population of to-day is not more mixed than the population of that period. Yet every man whose family has been here four generations is reputed to be of English descent. Reliable historians tell us that over one hundred thousand Huguenots came to this country; early

Massachusetts records speak of the French villages in Worcester County; title deeds show that whole streets in Providence, Rhode Island, were inhabited by Huguenots; South Carolina and New York numbered many Huguenots among their citizens; there were French settlements in the Northwest and in Missouri. Irish were numerous even in Yankee New England. Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia were the seats of thriving German colonies, and those of Pennsylvania are the only ones which have not utterly vanished. What became of all these people? They died out, the historian tells us. Surely it is a strange pestilence that slayed all but Anglo-Saxons. We have no reason to believe that the climate of North America is fatal to all people not of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The study of Americanized names offers abundant reward for diligent research. Research in this direction would somewhat change our conception of the early history of the American people. It would cause us to acknowledge that the English element of the colonies has been greatly over-estimated, that a large French element has been totally ignored, and that various other elements have had an influence at present unrecognized and unsuspected. Such a study would show that the term Anglo-Saxon, as applied to the American people, is a misnomer.

W. A. CURTIS.

AN UNPUBLISHED AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

BENJAMIN VAN CLEVE: THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

DURING the past year I have had the unique pleasure of reading the valuable and interesting manuscript autobiography, or Memoranda, as the author styles his diary, of Benjamin Van Cleve, who a hundred years ago settled in that part of the Northwest Territory now known as the State of Ohio. Portions of the Memoranda were contributed in 1843 to the *American Pioneer* by the diarists' accomplished son, John W. Van Cleve; but a large part of the book has remained in the manuscript. It is worthy of publication in full, and it is surprising that the whole of it has not long since appeared in print.

This sturdy little manuscript volume, written in a beautiful hand, which is as legible as print, and bound in strong square leather covers, which like the heavy paper within, are dark with age, has though studied by several historians, and read by many others, been so carefully guarded by the appreciative descendants of the author that time and use have injured it very little. The book is ornamented by a neatly executed plan of Fort Defiance, Ohio, drawn and colored by Mr. Van Cleve.

In the preface to the Memoranda, which was written for the instruction

and amusement of his children, Mr. Van Cleve sets down for their guidance the rules by which he regulated his own useful life. He tells them that he made it a point to be polite and obliging to all with whom he was connected in business, whether he stood to them in the relation of employer or employee. He regarded justice, honor and integrity as the best policy, though it was not this inferior motive but a much higher one that led him to pursue that upright and public spirited career which won the respect and admiration of his fellow citizens. He always had a place for everything, and a set time for the performance of each duty, and he exhorted his children above all to form similar systematic, accurate and methodical habits.

That he was acquainted with his strong points and enforced his precepts by example, the following quotation from an obituary notice published in the *Dayton Watchman* immediately after his death will prove: "He discharged the duties of clerk (of the Montgomery County, Ohio, Court of Common Pleas) with ability, and recommended himself to esteem by his agreeable manner of doing business. He has been a leading charac-

ter in this county and has taken an active part in promoting its interests; was a trustee of several literary institutions, and was a member of the Presbyterian Church. By using system in his business he found leisure from his duties as clerk, postmaster and his private affairs to do much for the public good. No one was better acquainted with this county than he was. And the strangers that passed through town found in Mr. Van Cleve one who was able and took pleasure in giving them information."

Ohio was a new country at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and travelers and prospectors were unable to obtain from books or newspapers the facts they desired in regard to soil, climate, population and business. It was therefore greatly to the advantage of a recently settled country and town, to have within their borders one like Mr. Van Cleve, not only thoroughly informed (he had while a surveyor traveled over every foot of ground in the region where he lived), but also willing to take the time and trouble to instruct inquiring visitors, who if properly approached might be induced to become permanent residents of the community.

Benjamin Van Cleve began at a very early age to keep a diary, and not long before his death he condensed and revised his journals, copying them into the volume from which I shall draw the material for my sketch of his life. His Memoranda contains one of the most accurate and graphic descriptions of St. Clair's defeat that

has been written, and from the Memoranda has also been obtained the only reliable account of the settlement of Dayton, Ohio. This manuscript history of the town was supplemented by the only files of the first newspapers published in Dayton, which has been preserved. They were collected and bound by Mr. Van Cleve, and presented to the Public School Library of the city by his son, so that Benjamin Van Cleve was literally the historian of Dayton from 1796—1821.

Benjamin Van Cleve's ancestors came to Flatbush, L. I., from Amsterdam, Holland, in the seventeenth century and from thence removed to Staten Island and finally settled in New Jersey. He was born February 24th, 1773, in Monmouth County, New Jersey, and was the eldest child of John and Catherine Benham Van Cleve. He had three brothers and five sisters. His father was a blacksmith.

Mr. Van Cleve's earliest recollection was the battle of Monmouth on the 28th of June, 1778. Late in life he could well remember the confusion of women and children, and their flight to the pine swamps, just before the engagement, though he was only five years old at the time. When about a mile from home the refugees came in sight of the enemy, and paused to consult what course to pursue. The Monmouth men went in search of the American army, and Benjamin Van Cleve "becoming separated from the rest of his family, aimed," he tells us in the Memoranda, "to return home. When within a short distance of the

enemy the bugles drove the child, who in the confusion had not been missed back to the place where his relatives were collected. The refugees could hear the firing distinctly, and judge from the sound which side was advancing or receding. When our army was retreating many of the men were melted to tears; when it was advancing there was every demonstration of joy and exultation." The next day John Van Cleve and his brothers, "acted as guides to separate companies of Col. Morgan's riflemen and reconnoitered the British right flank, took a number of prisoners and took and recaptured a great deal of property."

When on the retreat of the British John Van Cleve brought his family back from the pine swamps he found nothing to mark the site of his home, but a naked and blackened chimney, stumps of apple trees, and the bodies of animals killed by the British. He "had," his son says, "neither a shelter for his family, nor bread for them, nor clothing to cover them, excepting what they had on. He saved a bed and a looking-glass which we carted with us. A yearling heifer had escaped the enemy, and a sow with a back broken by a sword, lived. My father's anvil remained, I believe, amidst the rubbish and ruins of the shop. Several wagons and an artillery carriage were burnt in the shop; the pieces of artillery had been thrown into a pool of muddy water in the middle of the road, and were not found by the enemy." The Tories

committed depredations both by land and by sea on the Monmouth county people, and for this reason the militia were till the end of the war almost constantly on duty. John Van Cleve was "from home on this service a great part of the time and he was in some skirmishes with the Tories and British. He was also under General Forman at the battle of Germantown."

In November, 1785, John Van Cleve removed with his family and several relatives and friends from Freehold, New Jersey, to Pennsylvania. The party traveled with three wagons, two of which contained Van Cleve's blacksmith tools, provisions and household furniture.

The emigrants had an uncomfortable and fatiguing journey up and down the icy or snowy Alleghany mountain roads, which "being only opened sufficient for wagons to pass, and neither dug nor levelled; also winding in both ascent and descent," there was constant danger of upsetting. "To undertake the crossing," Benjamin Van Cleve wrote, "with loaded wagons required a considerable degree of resolution and fortitude."

The horses were soon nearly exhausted from the hard pulling through the deep snow which balled in their feet. Sometimes the wagons stuck in the mud or broke down. The women and children suffered very much from cold and exposure. Benjamin Van Cleve writes on November 17th: "Tarried to repair our wagons, and

the women were employed in baking and cooking. November 18th: Froze considerable last night. The roads are filled with ice. Came this day to Mr. McShay's on Sideling Hill. The house was so crowded with travelers that notwithstanding the cold we were obliged to encamp in the woods. The horses and men are very much fatigued, having spent near half the day getting up this hill, which is steep and stony and the road winds back and forth to gain the summit. We had to put six horses to a wagon and bring one up at a time." They reached their journey's end on the 8th of December.

The greater part of the time between 1786 and 1789 the Van Cleves spent on a farm near Washington, Pennsylvania. In December, 1789, the family emigrated to Cincinnati, making the journey by water, and arriving the day after General St. Clair changed the name of the town, which had previously been called Losantiville. Benjamin Van Cleve settled on land on the east bank of the Licking river, belonging to Major Leech, who wishing to open a farm for himself offered a hundred acres of unimproved ground for each ten acres field cleared by a settler, with the use for three years of the improved land.

Benjamin Van Cleve hoped, with the assistance of his father's labor, to secure at least one hundred acres, but the latter's death prevented the fulfillment of their expectations. A fortified station was built on Leech's land, and four families and four single

men went out to the place to live. The Indians were very troublesome and daring in 1791, skulking through the streets of Cincinnati, and the gardens near Fort Washington at night. On the 21st of May they fired on John Van Cleve while he was at work in his field near the village and captured a man named Cutter who was standing within a few yards of him. "The alarm was given by hallooing from lot to lot, until it reached town." Benjamin Van Cleve came in from Leech's Station just as the news of the attack was received at Cincinnati, and saw the villagers running to, the public grounds. He followed them, and there met with a man who had seen the Indians firing on his father. He asked if any would go to the rescue with him, "and pushed on without halting." After running a short distance the party met John Van Cleve. "While we were finding the trail of the Indians on their retreat," Benjamin writes, "perhaps forty persons had arrived, most of whom joined in the pursuit; but by the time we gained the top of the river hills, we had only eight." They kept the Indians "on the full run till dark," but were obliged to return to Cincinnati at night without recapturing Cutter. A few days later, on the 1st of June, John Van Cleve was again attacked by Indians while working in his own lot. "A naked Indian," Benjamin says, "sprang upon him; my father was seen to throw him, but at this time the Indian was plunging his knife into his heart. He took a small

scalp off and ran. The men behind came up immediately, but my father was already dead."

One of John Cleve's daughters was married, but he left four younger children, who were not old enough to support themselves. "I immediately resolved," Benjamin Van Cleve says, "to supply the place of father to them to the utmost of my ability, and I feel a consolation in having fulfilled my duty towards them, as well as my mother. My father had not many debts or engagements to fulfill. I paid some debts by my labor (all that he owed) as a day laborer, and my brother-in-law assisted me in building a house he had undertook and received the pay for my mother." "After the funeral of my father I returned and planted my corn, but was obliged to divide my time and bestow the greater part at Cincinnati for the benefit of the family. I settled my father's books, fulfilled his engagements and sold his blacksmith's tools to the Quartermaster-General."

For a number of years Benjamin Van Cleve was burdened with the support of his mother and the family, and had a hard struggle with poverty. He was young and ignorant of the world, and felt the need of counsel. Many depended on him and there was no one to whom he could turn for help or with whom he could share his responsibilities. "Happy he who has at this period of his life," he wrote years afterwards, at a date when his own carefully nurtured son had recently graduated with honor at

Ohio University, "a father or friend whose experience will afford him a chart, whose kind advice will serve as a compass to direct him."

Benjamin Van Cleve was all his life a lover of good books and good men, and though he enjoyed very limited educational advantages, he became noted for intelligence, information and elevation of character. Vice seems to have had but slight charm for him; but no doubt the thought of his helpless family would have restrained one of his affectionate nature and spurred him to exert himself to the uttermost had he been tempted to fall into idle and dissipated habits. He was obliged to seek work wherever he could find it, and could not afford to be nice in his choice of associates. "Had my fortitude and resolution," he says "been weaker they might have been overcome for my companions for several years were of the most profane and dissipated, such as followers of the army and mostly discharged soldiers."

In the summer of 1791 he obtained employment in the quarter-master's department, and on the 8th of August set off for Kentucky, where his uncle, Captain Benham was commissioned by the Government to buy artillery horses for St. Clair's army. Van Cleve received the purchased horses at Lexington, branded them and pastured them in the neighborhood of the town. In about two weeks a drove was collected and taken to Cincinnati. Captain Benham was very ill on their return from Kentucky, and his nephew

was obliged to do all his writing, keep accounts and attend to his other business.

On the 3d of September, Benham and Van Cleve left Fort Washington, Cincinnati, for the army, with three or four brigades of pack-horses loaded with armorer's and artificer's tools. The armorers were armed and marched with the brigades, but would have proved a weak escort had the Indians attacked them. Benham's party overtook the troops at a place thirty or forty miles beyond Fort Hamilton, and marched with them to Fort Jefferson which was not yet completed. At the end of five days Benham and Van Cleve returned with six brigades, leaving five at Hamilton and taking one on to Fort Washington. They were ordered back to transport provisions from Cincinnati to the army which was reduced to short allowance, the failure of Colonel Duer, the contractor, having thrown all military arrangements into confusion.

The pack-horsemen returned as soon as possible with their loads, and overtook the army on the 31st of October, twenty-two miles beyond Fort Jefferson. They found poor St. Clair so ill with the gout as to be carried in a litter. The Kentucky militia had just deserted in a body, and the evening of the day Benham's party arrived in camp the first regiment was dispatched to bring the deserters back and also to escort in provisions that were then on the way.

Benjamin Van Cleve had been entered on the pay-roll of the army as

a pack-horseman, at \$15.00 pay per month. He worked hard to earn his wages. Each brigade of pack horses drew its rations separately. As he kept the accounts and also communicated orders he had a great deal of writing to do. In addition to his ordinary duties he was often obliged to take care of his own and his uncle's horses. Sometimes it was necessary to carry part of the stores or provisions lashed on the back of the animal he was accustomed to ride, and foot it himself through the mud in the roughest manner.

Capt. Benham had a large marquee or horseman's tent, which as it was very roomy he occasionally asked officers to share. "Having sometimes to be in the company of officers and sometimes in the mud," Van Cleve was induced on his expeditions to the army to take all his clothes with him, and they made a heavy and unwieldy pack.

At daybreak on the 2d of November, while in obedience to orders packing his cumbersome luggage on his horse in preparation for the return to Cincinnati he heard firing and was soon witnessing his first battle. It was not long till his horse was shot down, and instead of lamenting the accident, he was glad of it; for he now felt at liberty to share in the engagement, expecting much pleasure from the turmoil and excitement of the battle, which in his ignorance of the condition of the army and of the uncertainties of Indian warfare, he was confident would end victoriously

for our troops. In a few moments he provided himself with a gun obtained from a man who was wounded in the arm, began firing, and till the retreat commenced was in the thick of the fight. He escaped unhurt, though he lost his horse and all his clothes, but Captain Benham and Daniel Bonhan, a young man brought up by Benham, and whom Van Cleve regarded as a brother, were both wounded.

The ground was soon "literally covered with dead and dying men and the commander gave orders to take the way," that is, to retreat. Van Cleve joined a party of eight or nine men whom he saw start on a run a little to the left of where he was. When they had gone about two miles a boy, who had been thrown or fell off a horse, begged Van Cleve's assistance and he ran, pulling the boy along about two miles farther, until both had become nearly exhausted. Seeing two horses approaching, one of which carried three men and the other two, Van Cleve managed to throw the lad up behind the two men. Though afterwards thrown off the boy escaped and got safely home. Bonhan, Van Cleve did not see on the retreat, but understood that his body was found in the winter on the battlefield and buried.

Van Cleve was taken with cramp during the retreat and could hardly walk, "till he got within a hundred yards of the rear, where the Indians were tomahawking the old and wounded men." Here he stopped to

"tie his pocket handkerchief around a man's wounded knee." The Indians were close in pursuit at this time and he almost despaired of escaping. He threw off his shoes and the coolness of the ground revived him. "I again," he says, "began a trot, and recollect that when a bend in the road offered, and I got before half a dozen persons, I thought it would occupy some time for the enemy to massacre them before my turn would come. By the time I had got to Stillwater, about eleven miles, I had gained the center of the flying troops, and, like them, came to a walk. I fell in with Lieutenant Shaumberg, who I think was the only officer of artillery that got away unhurt, with Corporal Mott and a woman, who was called 'Redheaded Nance.' The latter two were crying. Mott was lamenting the loss of his wife, and Nance that of an infant child. Shaumberg was nearly exhausted, and hung on Mott's arm. I carried his fusee and accoutrements and led Nance; and in this sociable way we arrived at Fort Jefferson, a little after sunset."

Benham and Van Cleve immediately went on with Colonel Drake and others who were ordered forward to dispatch provisions to the troops. After marching a few miles the party was so overcome with fatigue that they halted. A pack-horseman "had stolen at Fort Jefferson one pocketful of flour and the other full of beef." Another of the men had a kettle. Benjamin Van Cleve groped about in the dark until he found some water

in a hole, out of which a tree had been blown by the root. They then made a kettle of soup of which each of the party got a little. After supping they marched four or five miles further, when "a sentinel was set and they lay down and slept." They were worn out with fatigue, and their feet were knocked to pieces against the roots in the night and by splashing through the ice without shoes, for "the ground was covered with snow and the flats filled with water frozen over, the ice as thick as a knife blade." On the 6th of November they reached Hamilton and were out of danger.

The 25th of November Benham and his nephew were paid off and discharged at Fort Washington. A week later Van Cleve entered the service of the new army contractors, Elliott & Williams, and started the same day for the falls of the Ohio to bring up a boatload of salt. When he returned he was employed by the contractors to feed and take charge of a herd of cattle through the winter. In the spring when the cattle were turned out to pasture near Cincinnati he went on a twelve days' trip by boat to Fort Hamilton. Afterwards for a short time he was in charge of horses belonging to the quartermaster at a camp three miles up the Licking River.

The evening of the 10th of May, 1792, he was expected at Cincinnati to draw provisions. He arrived about dark and found that the Quartermaster had determined to send him express to Philadelphia, had been to his mother's, had his clothes packed,

a horse saddled and everything ready for the journey. He received his instructions from the Quartermaster and Commandant, and started before midnight, accompanied by Captain Kimberland. Forty dollars were given him, which were expected to be "equal to his expenses," and he was ordered to take the most direct route to Philadelphia, which at that day was via Lexington, Kentucky, and Crab Orchard, and thence by Cumberland River, Cumberland Mountains, Powell's Valley, Abingdon, Bolecourt, Lexington, Staunton, Martinsburg, Louisana, Hagerstown, Maryland, York and Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He traveled with as little delay as possible by day or by night. On reaching Crab Orchard eighteen persons joined him. The party was armed with five guns and five pistols. The trip, on account of the Indian alarms and rainy weather, was very disagreeable.

Van Cleve reached Philadelphia June 7th, 1792, and delivered his dispatches next day. He went to the War Department every morning at ten o'clock to see if there were any commands for him, and at last General Knox ordered him to go to New York to conduct thither a pair of fine horses which the heads of the department had presented to Capt. Joseph Brant, Chief of the Six Nations. Van Cleve was directed to leave the horses in the care of Mr. Edward Bardin, of the City Tavern, taking his receipt and requesting him to deliver them to Captain Brant on the latter's arrival

in New York. Mr. Van Cleve replied that he would be glad to go to New York, but that if he went money to pay his expenses must be furnished him by the Government. General Knox was much excited by this answer, swore at the young man and declared that it took more for his expenses than would support the Duke of Mecklenburg! Whereupon Van Cleve waxed wroth. "I suppose," he says, "he was in jest, but I felt nettled, and observed that I ate three times a day as I was accustomed to do at home, and my horse had to have hay and oats; that I had been on expenses for forty or fifty days and on forty dollars, and that I was a small matter behind with my landlord." Knox made no further objections, but ordered the necessary money to be paid to Van Cleve.

Captain Brant arrived by stage at the City Tavern on June 29th, just as his horses stopped at the door, so that he gave his own receipt for the animals. It is stated in the Memoranda that the Chief was "quite intelligent and communicative, wrote a decent hand and was dressed more than half in the fashion of the whites."

Mr. Van Cleve returned to Philadelphia on the 30th of June. Knox gave him leave of absence until the 11th of July to visit relatives in New Jersey.

During his stay in Philadelphia he amused himself visiting friends, attending the play, drawing a plan of President Washington's new house,

which was then building, and reading all the books he could get hold of. He purchased twenty-five volumes. He boarded with a Quaker family, and found profit and pleasure in attending the Friends' meeting and in reading "Barclay's Apology" and other of their books. "The landlord and landlady," he says, "assumed the exercise of parental authority over me, the same as over their own son. I believe I was more obedient to them, and a considerable share of mutual attachment took place. I felt regret at parting from them, and my good mother shed tears on the occasion."

He left Philadelphia on the 25th of July with dispatches for General Wayne, who was at Wheeling, and for Colonel Cushing, the commandant at Fort Washington. On his return journey he followed the route over the Alleghenies he had traveled when emigrating from New Jersey in 1789, and found the roads much improved. On the way he turned aside to visit relatives and was slightly reprimanded by General Wayne, for his delay in delivering the dispatches. The journey from Wheeling to Cincinnati was made by river. The party occupied two boats, commanded by Ensign Hunter, a sergeant and corporal, who were conducting to Ohio twenty-one recruits enlisted in New Jersey. One boat was loaded with oats and corn, and the other had on board a quantity of cannon ball, two pieces of artillery and a few boxes of shoes. Four recruits deserted at Wheeling and Van Cleve turned out with a party of

soldiers to search for them, but the men escaped capture. A good deal of whiskey was drunk on board the boats and the soldiers were "mellow" during nearly the whole voyage. One of the men entertained his companions by singing for half a day at a time. Ensign Hunter and his wife frequently visited Van Cleve's boat, and when alone with the soldiers he amused himself reading the twenty-five books he had bought at Philadelphia, finishing nearly all of them before he reached Cincinnati on the 3d of August, 1792.

One day he and the sergeant and another person landed for a deer hunt, overtaking the boats further down the river.

Van Cleve's expenses during his absence of one hundred and fourteen days were \$114.56 2-3. He served a month in the quartermaster's department after his return. Through some misunderstanding he did not receive his pay for his services as expressed till the 15th of March, 1793. "I became tired and disgusted," he says, "with their arrogant and ungenerous treatment, and in want of the money, I begged that they would pay me something, anything that they thought I merited—there was no mail nor way for me to make it known or get redress at Philadelphia, and they were so good as to pay me five shillings per day." Yet the quartermaster professed to be satisfied with the manner in which he had discharged his duties, and with the bills of expenses, "paid Israel Ludlow for my

lots in Cincinnati," he says after concluding his account of the trip to Philadelphia, "got bills of sale for them and cleared and fenced them. I labored intolerably hard, so as to injure my health, and raised a fine crop of corn."

In the winter of 1793, Van Cleve and Stacey McDonough engaged with the army contractors, Elliott & Williams, to bring up the salt and other articles from the Falls of the Ohio to Cincinnati. The contractors furnished a boat and one hundred weight of flour for each trip, and paid six shillings six pence freight per barrel.

Van Cleve and his companion took the boat down themselves, but engaged hands at \$5.00 per week in Kentucky (where the farmers, when their summer work was over, were glad to get employment in the public service), who agreed to be ready on certain days when the cargo for the return voyage was collected, to assist in loading the boat. They brought up one boat-load of salt and two of corn. By the first of December Van Cleve cleared \$75.00. They then re-engaged with the contractors at \$15.00 per month and went for a boat-load of salt, but did not receive their freight till January 1st, 1794. The river was almost frozen over and they had a tedious return trip, not reaching Cincinnati till January 25th.

In February, 1794, Captain Benham employed Benjamin Van Cleve to open a sutler's store at Fort Greenville, the headquarters at this date of

Wayne's Legion. He took six pack-horses to Greenville, loaded with stores and liquors, and in March returned to Cincinnati for another six-horse load. This was an unfortunate undertaking. He was twice robbed while at the fort, losing over fifty dollars in money, all his clothes and some small articles. He also got into trouble at headquarters; sold the sutler's store and left Fort Greenville penniless.

On the 16th of May he again engaged in the contractors' employ, and on the 24th was sent down the Ohio to Fort Massac with two boats loaded with provisions. A detachment of infantry and artillery commanded by Major Doyle and Captain Guion and eight Chickasaw Indians accompanied them. There were ten boats in the little fleet, which were directed to proceed in exact order. Van Cleve's boat, number seven, was heavily loaded and weak in hands, so that when all were rowing it could not keep up, and when all were drifting it out went the other boats. As the major had the reputation of being haughty, arbitrary and imperious, and had been nicknamed "King Doyle," Van Cleve thought it useless to explain matters to him. Sometimes number seven would be ten miles ahead in the morning, and it would take the others with hard rowing half the day to overtake it. "The men," the Memoranda relates, "by that time would be pretty much fatigued, and we could manage to keep our place until night. We generally re-

ceived a hearty volley of execrations for our disobedience of his orders; we returned mild excuses and determined to repeat the offence."

At Saline on June 11th "he observed," Van Cleve says, "a fire on shore and hailed, when two Canadian French hunters came to us with their canoes loaded with skins, bears' oil and dogs. One of them had passed twenty-six years in the wilderness between Vincennes and the Illinois river. Before morning we found three others who went along with us to hunt for us." The boats reached Fort Massac June 12th. On the 26th of June "King Doyle" ordered the arrest of Van Cleve and his comrades. That day there arrived at Fort Massac a number of men who had been enlisted in Tennessee by officers who had received commissions from Citizen Genet, ambassador from the French Republic to the United States. The real object of the visit of these French recruits was probably to examine the place and ascertain the strength of the force assembled there. But they stated that having nothing else to do they had volunteered to escort some salt boats to Nashville and had stopped out of curiosity to see the soldiers. They invited Van Cleve and his companions to take passage in their boat, and as the former were anxious to return home, the offer was accepted. One of Van Cleve's party who had a public rifle went up to restore it to the major, who, angry at his departure, cursed and struck him and ordered him and his friends who

were in the boat but heard the command, to be taken to the guard house. "The major," the Memoranda states, "was walking backward and forward on top of the bank. With my gun in one hand and tomahawk in the other, and a knife eighteen inches long hanging at my side, dressed in a hunting frock, breech cloth and leggins, my countenance probably manifesting my excitement, I leaped out of the boat and with a very quick step went up the bank to the major. I looked like a savage, and the major, mistaking my intention, was alarmed and retired as I advanced." Finally matters were explained to the satisfaction of both and Van Cleve consented to remain till the 3d of July, when the major intended to send a boat to the Falls of the Ohio. Van Cleve and his friends left on the appointed day, but growing tired of the society of the soldiers, determined on the 9th, at Red Banks, to make the remainder of the journey by land.

Red Banks was on the border of Tennessee and Kentucky and as it was unknown as yet to which the place belonged, it was a lawless region and a refuge for thieves and rogues of all kinds who had "been able to effect their escape from justice in the neighboring states." At Red Banks our travelers saw a fellow named Kuykendall, who "always carried in his waistcoat pockets 'devil's claws,' or rather weapons that he could slip his fingers in, and with which he could take off the whole side of a man's face at one claw." Kuy-

kendall had just been married and a wedding ball was in progress when Van Cleve arrived, at the close of which festivities the bridegroom was murdered by some of the guests. On July 11th the travelers reached Green river. They each made a raft with an armful of wood and a grape vine to carry their gun and clothes "and then taking the vines in their mouths swam the river, dragging their rafts after them." During the four succeeding days they passed through an uninhabited wilderness. July 26th they arrived at Cincinnati. Spies employed by Wayne's army had just come in for ammunition and were going to return on foot. They invited Van Cleve to join them, and he regretted that as his feet and clothes were both almost worn out and he was unable to stand the journey, he was obliged to decline the offer.

The 28th of July he was employed by the contractors to drive a drove of cattle to Fort Greenville. Nearly the whole of August he was very ill in Cincinnati. On his recovery, after paying doctors' and board bills and for some clothes, he had but a dollar left. Accordingly, though so weak that he could hardly walk, he engaged with the contractors to drive cattle to the army then at Fort Wayne, and was occupied with this business till December. In January, 1795, he entered into partnership at Cincinnati with his brother-in-law, Jerome Holt and Capt. John Schooley. They farmed and also hauled quarter-

master's supplies to Fort Washington and the outposts in their six-horse wagon. Van Cleve "worked hard, lived poor, and was very economical, and had about as much when he quit as when he began."

In the fall of 1795 he accompanied Captain Dunlap to make the survey of the land purchased for the Dayton settlement. Surveyors endured much hardship. A hunter and a spy always accompanied surveying parties, for they were obliged to supply themselves with food from the woods and to be on the watch against attacks from wandering bands of Indians. On the 26th of September Van Cleve records that their horse was missing, though he had been well secured when they camped for the night. Indians had probably stolen him. They hunted for him all day but did not find him, and were thenceforth obliged to carry the baggage themselves, though traveling on foot. When they arrived at the mouth of Mad river, the site of Dayton, they found six Wyandot Indians camped there. At first both the white and the red men were a little alarmed but they soon became friends, and exchanged presents. "They gave us," Van Cleve says, "some venison jerk and we in return gave them a little flour, salt, tobacco and other small articles. At the request of one of them I exchanged knives, giving him a very large one, scabbard and belt that I had carried for several years, for his, which was not so valuable, with a worsted belt and a deer skin to boot." The 1st of October their

hunter and another man were sent forward to hunt and cook, and when after a day of fasting and hard work the surveyors reached camp they found that some Indians had robbed their men of most of the provisions, and "menaced their lives." On another occasion the surveyors fasted thirty-four hours, laboring and traveling most of the time, and the Memoranda describes the gusto with which they ate the big pot of mush and milk which was all they had for supper when at last they reached a cabin. "October 3d," Van Cleve writes, "It rained very hard, and the surveyor got his papers all wet and was about stopping. We had about a pound of meat, and though we had nearly done our business, were thinking of setting off for home. I undertook to keep the field notes, and hit on the expedient of taking them down on tablets of wood with the point of my knife, so I could understand them and take them off again on paper." They returned to Cincinnati on the 4th of October. On the 1st of November Van Cleve went again to Mad River. A lottery was held, and he drew lots in and near Dayton for himself and others, and "engaged to become a settler in the spring." This winter when not surveying, Benjamin Van Cleve wrote in the Recorder's office at Cincinnati. In April, 1796, he accompanied his mother (now Mrs. Thompson) and several others to Dayton, the party being the first settlers to arrive at the new town. They went by water, the men poleing the boat

up the Great Miami. At night they camped in the woods on the shore. The trip occupied ten days.

Van Cleve raised a very good crop of corn at Dayton this year, but most of it was destroyed. He sold his possessions in Cincinnati, but "sunk the price of his lots." He gave \$80.00 for a yoke of oxen and one of them was shot, and \$20.00 for a cow and it died; so that at the close of 1796 he was about \$40.00 in debt. The next year his farming was also unsuccessful and he lost \$16.17, and gained nothing. In the fall of 1796 he accompanied Israel Ludlow and W. C. Schenck to survey the United States military lands between the Scioto and Muskingum rivers, "he had deep snow," he says, "covered with crust; the weather was cold and still, so that he could kill but little game, and were twenty-nine days without bread and nearly all that time without salt, and sometimes very little to eat. We were five days seven in company, on four meals, and they, except the last, scanty. They consisted of a turkey, two young raccoons, and the last day some rabbits and venison, which we got from some Indians." In February, 1798, he began the study of surveying in Cincinnati, boarding at Captain Benham's. He was promised a district in the U. S. lands by Israel Ludlow who had the power of filling blank commissions from the Surveyor-General, but who as on the former occasion never fulfilled his promise. After completing his studies, he "assisted

Avery in his tavern during the sitting of court, and for some time afterwards posted books for several persons and wrote for a short time in the Quartermaster's Department at Fort Washington." He had been waiting in Cincinnati all summer, hoping to be employed as a surveyor and was now again put off. He therefore returned to Dayton. On his arrival, having nothing else to do, he dug a saw-mill pit for D. C. Cooper, proprietor of the town. From working in so damp and chilly a place, he caught a violent cold and had rheumatism and fever, succeeded by pleurisy. He had been forced to sell his preemption rights to outlots at Dayton, but in 1799 rented some ground and raised an excellent crop of corn. This winter he taught in the blockhouse, built for defense against the Indians, the first school opened in Dayton. The school began on the first of September. He "reserved time to gather his corn and kept school until the last of October." During the first week in November he got in his crop, but as he then went to Cincinnati to assist the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the first Territorial Legislature, vacation lasted till December. Before Christmas he returned home and "kept school about three months longer." It is said that as books were difficult to procure in the western wilderness, the master taught the alphabet and spelling from charts prepared by himself, they were no doubt beautifully written and colored, for Van Cleve's penmanship, as already

mentioned, was remarkable for neatness and elegance.

August 28th, 1800, Benjamin Van Cleve was married. In the Memoranda he makes the following quaint reference to this important event in his history: "This year I raised a crop of corn and determined on settling myself and having a home. I accordingly on the 28th of August married Mary Whitten, daughter of John Whitten, near Dayton. She was young, lively, industrious and ingenious. My property was a house, creature and a few farming utensils. Her father gave her a few household or kitchen utensils, so that we could make shift to cook our provisions, a bed, a cow and heifer, a ewe and two lambs, a sow and pigs, and a saddle and spinning wheel. I had corn and vegetables growing, so that if we were not rich, we had sufficient for our immediate wants and were contented and happy."

In 1801 Mr. Van Cleve was appointed county surveyor. He was also "lister," his duty being to take the returns of taxable property in Dayton township. He suffered a good deal while out surveying in the winter of 1801. On one occasion it was stormy and cold. He tried "to strike a fire," but could not, and froze his

feet badly. He wrote again this year for the clerk of the legislature. He built a cabin on the quarter section, which he had now obtained near Dayton, and would have settled down on his farm if his health had not prevented continuous hard work. He did a good deal of surveying in 1801. From 1803 till his death in 1821 Mr. Van Cleve was Clerk of the Montgomery County Court of Common Pleas. From 1804 to 1821 he was postmaster of Dayton. In 1805 he was one of the incorporators of the Dayton Library Association, which was the first institution of that kind incorporated by the Ohio Legislature. The books were kept at the postoffice, and Van Cleve acted as librarian.

In 1812 the President of the United States appointed Benjamin Van Cleve and two other commissioners "to explore, survey and mark a road by the most eligible course from the foot of the rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie to the western line of the Connecticut reserve and a road to run southwardly from Lower Sandusky to the boundary line established by the treaty of Greenville."

Mr. Van Cleve became one of the most prominent citizens of Ohio and took an active part in all public affairs in Dayton.

MARY D. STEELE.

TWO MISSIONARY PRIESTS AT MACKINAC.*

I.

MOST of us, I suppose, who come to Mackinac are induced to do so chiefly, and perhaps altogether, by its natural characteristics. The invigorating air, the extended and beautiful land and water view, the iron in these northern rills, the health that is born upon the breeze, the pines, those "trees of healing," these are the things that draw us from the crowded market place or forum, from the cities' dust and cinders, and keep us lingering here delighted, until duty relentlessly calls us home again.

But for all that, I venture to think that there is hardly one of us who does not consciously or unconsciously feel the power of that human sympathy which—as Ruskin has in one of his papers beautifully set forth—glorifies the Alps and the Rhine and makes them to the traveler far surpassing in interest and attraction the Sierras and the Amazon. And here in Mackinac, to those who know and are touched by the interest of its history, we may and must feel keenly in sympathy. As I walk the bluffs and look out upon the beautiful panorama spread out before me, this fairy isle

itself, and the whole fair country round about, once known as Michilimackinac, the winding shores and the heavy woods of the northern and southern peninsulas, the silver straits between, and the low-lying islands near, my thoughts fly back from the natural beauties around me to the distant past, and

"Visions of the days departed, shadowy
phantoms fill my brain,
They who live in history only, seem to walk
the earth again."

For Michilimackinac was two hundred years ago the center of human effort, as grand, as noble, and to my mind as interesting and romantic, too, as ever can be associated with Swiss mountain or German river.

It is not my purpose in this paper to enter into any general description or panegyric of the Jesuit missions in North America. I only want to remind you that even before the Mayflower entered Massachusetts Bay, the priests of the society had carried, not with a blare of trumpets but with the solemn tones of the Gregorian chant, the cross and the *fleur de lis* together into the wilderness of Maine and Canada. In all this great north-western country never a river nor an inland sea was explored, never a cape

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nor a headland turned or doubled but it was a black-gowned Jesuit Father, in his birch canoe, armed with his crucifix and breviary, who led the way. In these later days, repairing the neglect of two hundred years, historians like Dr. Shea and Mr. Parkman have told this story so often and so well, that these men have received the honor so justly their due, and have obtained perchance what they never sought, an earthly immortality.

For although these priests were explorers and adventurers and discoverers, heroes in many a physical danger and many a hairbreadth escape, it was no earthly glory they coveted. They came devoted, eager, intense, with but one great object before their hearts and eyes, to snatch from everlasting misery, the poor ignorant and wicked; to set before those who were in darkness a great light; to break to those who were in the shadow of death the bread of life eternal.

They received, so far as this world went, the reward of their virtual martyrdom in life, their actual martyrdom often, in their deaths, by seeing the foundations laid, as they believed, of a Christian Empire of the Huron and Algonquin peoples; by hearing hymns to the Virgin sung in tongues unknown to civilization; by bestowing upon the humblest savage neophyte in the sacred water, all that the Church could give to the mightiest kings of Europe.

Was not this bloodless crusade

worthy all the adornments of historic art in literature or painting?

But it is not alone with the Jesuit Missions that the romance in the history of Michilimackinac is connected.

A little later it was from the neighborhood of this region here, as the center in the north, as from Kaskaskia and old Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi, in the south, that the dominion of France in the New World radiated.

It was from here that the great king was, by his viceroys and commanders to sit in power and do justice and equity throughout this fair northern lake country.

There came a time when "bigots and lackeys and panderers, the fortunes of France had undone," when this power, in the beginning so great, promising so much for the glory of France, nay, for civilization and humanity, was met, opposed and in the providence of God, overcome, by the less promising, the more material, the harder and less attractive English civilization from the Eastern coast.

We most of us at least rejoice in the result, but we can none of us I think forbear sympathy with or withhold our interest from the vanquished, nor can we fail to recognize that nobler minds and aims seemed to rule those who declared in the name of Louis XIV. that "His majesty could affix no country to his crown, without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein;" than those who could with cold calculation, like some of the governors of Massachusetts Bay and Virginia, declare themselves

opposed to the civilization and education of the Indians on the ground that it might injure the trade and material interests of the colonies.

On June 14th, 1671, at the Sault Saint Marie, from here not fifty miles to the north, as the crow flies, while representatives of fourteen tribes of Indians looked on in wonder; and four Jesuit Fathers led the French men-at-arms in singing *Vexilla Regis*, the *Sieur de Saint Lussou*, commanding in this region for the king, set up side by side a great wooden cross, and a pillar to which was attached the royal arms of France. Then drawing his sword and raising it towards Heaven, he exclaimed:

"In the name of the Most High, Mighty and Redoubted Monarch, Louis, Fourteenth of that name, most Christian King of France and of Navarre, I take possession of this place, *Sainte Marie du Sault*, as also of *Lakes Huron and Superior*, the island of *Manitoulin*, and all the countries, rivers, lakes and streams contiguous and adjacent thereunto, both those which have been discovered, and those which may be discovered hereafter, in all their length and breadth, bounded on the one side by the seas of the north and west and on the others by the south sea, declaring to the natives thereof that from this time forth they are the vassals of his Majesty, bound to obey his laws and follow his customs, promising them on his part all succor and protection against the intrusions and invasions of their enemies,

declaring to all other potentates, princes, sovereigns, states and republics, to them and their subjects, that they cannot and are not to seize or settle upon any parts of the aforesaid countries save only under the good pleasure of His Most Christian Majesty and of him who will govern in his behalf, and this on pain of incurring the resentment and the efforts of his arms. Long live the King!"

These were high-sounding words indeed, but when spoken, they were no idle ones. Not only the power of the greatest kingdom on earth was pledged to make them effective, but the Holy Church herself, the Mother of Kings, seemed to stand behind them in blessing and confirmation.

We know what remains of it all. But it adds to the charm of life at Mackinac to me, that inevitably my thoughts are carried back to that June day and its pageant, two-hundred years ago, when I hear upon the lips of some wandering half-breed, still lingering the accents of France; and when at the mission of *St. Anne* the gospel is read in French as well as English, and I am reminded that Holy Church has not forgotten her part of the duty then assumed, although performed now for so few of her lowest children.

And even here does not end the charm of the historical association which hovers about Mackinac.

A half a century and more after the dominion of France in this new world had waned, flickered and gone out, these Straits of *Michilimackinac* were

still the scene of romantic and absorbing adventure. Hither thronged still the Indian tribes of the west no longer untouched by the greed of gain or the vices of civilization, but from far and near, seeking at Michilimackinac to profitably exchange the products of the chase for the things that had become indispensable to their life, and hither came to meet them and barter with them, the fearless spirits of the frontier, skilled alike in woodcraft and in trade, but hardly less wild and hardy than their savage customers.

The place was busy, full of restless activity and energy, which made it important and interesting when the site of the great metropolitan city which lies now 350 miles to the south was but the Chicago portage, an outpost of Michilimackinac. I have lately examined with great interest the parish registers of the mission here—the mission of St. Anne de Michilimackinac, and as I read with outward eye the mere record of baptisms and marriages and burials from 1695 to the present day, between the lines, I seemed to see with mental vision, the whole strange story of the place, with its record of high aims and noble purposes, seemingly thwarted and failing, only to result in the end in success far beyond the early dreams of priest or soldier.

My mind was full of this, when my friend, the parish priest, appealed to me to prepare a paper for an entertainment to be given for the benefit of the mission, a request I was glad to accede to.

I determined for this paper then to attempt a brief sketch of two figures in the history of this mission, equally, it seems to me, worthy our regard and admiration; both, although more than a century apart—servants at the altar here; both Frenchmen and illustrious descent, and of the older and nobler school of thought and manners—one, the very founder of the mission here—the prototype in a line of earnest and devoted men of the earlier time, who carried on the work he gloriously began; the other at once the closing figure of that line, and the herald and pioneer in a new *regime* and a new order, a connecting link in other words, binding the church in the west, which was the companion and adjunct of French civilization and dominion, with the Catholic Church in America as it stands to-day, chiefly English speaking and English thinking, its altars served with loyal and patriotic lovers of American ideas and American institutions, a free church in a free state.

The first of these men whom I have described, you of course, could name. It could be no other than the Jesuit, Jacques Marquette, to whom belongs the high honor of being the first explorer and discoverer (after De Soto) of the Mississippi river and valley, and of whose character and life, his zeal, his ability and his devotion there has been much written and said since the discovery and publication of his manuscript journals by that prince among American scholars, Dr. John Gilmary Shea.

The second one of whom I would speak is perhaps less known to most of you, but to my mind, as I have said, he is equally an interesting and admirable figure in the history of the American Church. It is the Sulpician priest, Gabriel Richard.

The life and labors of these two men then, I shall attempt briefly to sketch.

Jacques Marquette was born in 1637, in the city of Laon, a fortified city of France, on the mountain side near the river Oise.

His family was distinguished and ancient, entitled to armorial bearings, and furnishing most of the local officers of the crown in the city and the department around. A more interesting fact to us is that three of this same family from the same region of country served and died in the French army in America, during the Revolutionary war.

We are told that his mother was Rose de la Salle, and related to Jean Baptiste de la Salle, the founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, for centuries as it is to-day the greatest and most efficient institute in the world for the gratuitous instruction of the young. I do not know that any investigation has ever been made to determine whether or not he was in the same line related to that paladin of adventurous discovery, who with dauntless courage and miraculous endurance, pursued to the end the explorations which Marquette began, that "heart of oak and frame of iron," Robert Cavalier de la Salle, a native

of the same part of France. It would be interesting to know.

At the age of seventeen Jacques Marquette entered the Society of Jesus. Filled with the most intense devotion to the Blessed Virgin, with his piety shaped in the ecstatic school of Loyola and his mind inflamed with the reports which the fathers on the various missions were sending to their superiors in France, his whole soul was bent even during his long novitiate upon some foreign mission, and in 1666, he eagerly sought and received the orders which sent him across an almost unknown ocean to labor among the Indians of North America.

Arriving in September of that year at Quebec, he applied himself immediately to the study of the Indian languages in use among the tribes under the especial care of the already established missions. He seems to have had wonderful linguistic ability, and must also have had wonderful application, for of these most difficult savage dialects he had mastered six, so as to speak them with considerable fluency, when, in April, 1668, Father Dablon, the superior of the missions, ordered him to the Ottawa mission, established at the Sault Ste. Marie. After a voyage of great difficulty and hardship he arrived at this place, and there, afterward joined by Dablon himself, Marquette labored among two thousand Indians of various tribes who, attracted by the excellent fishing, there frequently assembled, to separate from time to time for their

periodical hunting parties through the wilderness. He found them docile and easily induced to accept his guidance. But his zeal and energy and his unusual linguistic ability, so necessary for a missionary, marked him out for a more difficult undertaking still, and from the Sault he was sent in August, 1669, to the mission of the Saint Esprit, at Lapointe, near the western end of Lake Superior. Here his task was more discouraging at first, for his knowledge of the dialect there most used was not so perfect, but he soon had acquired over his flock, composed partly of Ottawas and partly Hurons, a great and growing influence.

And now through parties of Illinois and Sioux, who came from far to the westward, beyond the Mississippi river, Marquette began to hear of the Great river, broad, deep, beautiful, compared by these men who knew them both, to the St. Lawrence. They told him, also, of the many tribes which dwelt along its banks, and his mind was filled with a burning desire to preach to them the gospel they had never heard.

Always prudent, however, in his intrepidity, anxious, as he himself says, that if his expedition already planned must be dangerous it should not be foolhardy, from this time on, Marquette, from every Indian who spoke to him of the Mississippi begged all the information he could get, and from many took rude sketches of the river and its principal tributaries, so far as they were known to his informant.

Already the way of reaching this great river by the stream now called the Wisconsin was known to the Jesuit Fathers. From the Fox river running into Green Bay, to the headwaters of the Wisconsin running into the Mississippi, there is a comparatively easy portage near the place where now in Wisconsin stands the town of that name. Over this portage, Allouez, one of Marquette's fellow missionaries, in one of his tours had lately gone, finding in the Wisconsin a beautiful river, he says in his report, running southwest, and in the space of a six day's journey, as he was told, joining the great river of which he had heard so much.

But Marquette did not at first expect to take this route. His Illinois mission and the exploration of the Mississippi he intended to make by joining in the autumn a band of the Illinois, who from the west came each year by land to Lapointe, crossing the Mississippi in their journey. But these expectations were doomed to disappointment, for aroused to resentment by alleged injuries inflicted on them by the Ottawas and Hurons, the Sioux, always fierce and revengeful, broke into open war with the tribe who formed Father Marquette's flock at Lapointe. The Ottawas and Hurons were no more able to withstand the Sioux from the west, than they had been a quarter of a century before the Iroquois from the east, and they fled in dismay from Lapointe, separating as they went. The Ottawas took refuge in the Island of

Manitoulin — the Hurons, remembering that years before they had found temporary respite from Iroquois prosecution, and an abundance of game and fish, at and near the island of Michilimackinac, came here for the second time to find refuge; and here in 1671 came with them their devoted priest and teacher, Jacques Marquette.

It is impossible to tell with absolute certainty even on the closest investigation, whether it was on the Island of Mackinac, or on the mainland known now as Point St. Ignace, that Father Marquette and his Indian flock first established themselves.

I am inclined to think that it was on the island that the first rendezvous was made, but that very shortly after it was thought best to make the permanent settlement upon the mainland, and that there, in 1672, a chapel had been built surrounded by the cabins of the Indians, the whole village being surrounded by a stockade, for the better protection against enemies.

Father Charlevoix, and following him evidently, later writers have expressed surprise at Father Marquette's selecting what they term so undesirable a place for his mission and the settlement of the Hurons. To justify their surprise they speak of the intense cold and the sterility of the soil.

Charlevoix says that Father Marquette determined the choice of the spot, but Father Marquette himself says that the Indians had previously signified their design to settle here,

led by the abundance of game, the great quantity of fish and the adaptability of the soil for maize, the Indians' chief agricultural product.

But apart from the question whether Father Marquette located the Indians rather than the Indians Father Marquette, Charlevoix seems to me to speak with less sagacity than is usual in a Jesuit priest, in so expressing himself. If Father Marquette *did* determine the place of settlement, it seems to me easy to understand.

These missionaries were men of cultivation, learning and refinement. Their sense of the beautiful and their love for it, we may be sure were strong. For the sake of their holy religion, and in their burning zeal, they had voluntarily exiled themselves from the world of art and artistic beauty. The rainbow light that falls through cathedral windows, the almost celestial music that trembles through the aisles, the painting and the architecture that aid to raise the enrapt soul from earth to heaven, they had left behind in Europe forever. They had doomed themselves to much that was hateful and disgusting, to sodden forests and smoky wigwams, to filthy food and unclean companions, but they preserved, as all their relations and all their history show, their love of beauty; nature to them must take the place of art. Would it have been strange that Father Marquette should have been glad to settle where alternated the glories of a wonderfully beautiful winter landscape, with those no less

grand of these shining summer seas?
On the contrary, we may well imagine him, when first he gazed from the bluffs upon this country called Michilimackinac, exclaiming, as Scott makes King James, of Loch Katrina:

"And what a scene were here, * * *
For princely pomp or churchman's pride!
On this bold brow a lordly tower,
In that soft vale a lady's bower!
On yonder meadow far away,
The turrets of a cloister gray!
How blithly might the bugle horn
Chide on this lake the lingering morn!
And when the midnight moon should lave
Her forehead in the silver wave,
How solemn on the ear would come
The holy matin's distant hum!"

Until the 17th of May, 1673, Marquette labored at this mission with abundant and encouraging results, to judge from his letter to his superior in 1672. He says that he had almost five hundred Indians about him, who wished to be Christians, who listened with eagerness to his teaching, who brought their children to the chapel to be baptized, and came regularly to prayers. Be the wind or cold what it might, many Indians came twice a day to the chapel. When he was obliged to go to the Sault for a fortnight, they counted the days of his absence, repaired to the chapel for prayers as though he were present and welcomed him back with joy.

"The minds," he writes, "of the Indians here are now more mild, tractable and better disposed to receive instruction than in any other part."

But the Illinois mission that he had

planned, and the Great River that he wished to explore and dedicate to Mary, were always in his thoughts, and it was with great joy that in the spring of 1673, he heard that he had been ordered by his superior to turn over the mission at Michilimackinac to a successor and himself accompany Louis Joilet, designated by the Governor of Canada, in the exploration of the Mississippi.

On the 17th of May, 1673, he embarked from Michilimackinac with Joilet and five men, in two birch canoes, on his famous voyage. Its chief purpose was to learn of the tribes who dwelt along the banks of the great river, to map it, with its principal tributaries, to determine its general direction and to ascertain where it emptied, whether as some thought into the Atlantic Ocean or as more supposed into the Gulf of California. That it ran through 1,500 miles of country to empty itself into the Gulf of Mexico no one, it would seem, suspected.

I have not time as I would like to detail the first voyage down the Mississippi, but to all of you, if you have not read it, I commend the story of the voyage as you will find it in Parkman's *Discovery of the Great West*, or better still in the literal translation of Marquette's own report to be found in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*.

There you will read with pleasure, I know, how following the north shore of Lake Michigan where the wilderness in places is as wild now as

then, they ascended Fox river from Green Bay, and made the portage to the headwaters of the Wisconsin, how there they bade adieu with brave hearts to the waters that connected them with Quebec and Europe, and kneeling to offer in a new devotion their lives and their labors, their discoveries and all their undertakings to the Blessed Virgin, launched themselves upon the stream that ran to the Mississippi and then they knew not where, to countries unknown and unnamed.

You will see how carefully they noted the physical characteristics of the river and the country and the social customs of the tribes they found, how intrepidly they met hostile savages and hideous wild beasts, how zealously they preached Christ to those who would hear, how they wondered at the pictured monsters on the cliffs near the mouth of the Missouri (which the late Judge Breeze of Illinois, in 1842, said were still the wonder of travelers, and which seem in 1850 to have been in some parts visible, but which Parkman declares in his time had given place to a mammoth advertisement of Plantation Bitters), how then the Missouri with turbid floods came near to swamping their frail boats, how finally they reached the mouth of the stream now called the Arkansas, and having accomplished the object of their mission, and made sure of the further course of the river, and that its mouth was at the Gulf of Mexico, where, as they knew, the Spaniard

had fortifications and settlements, turned back and paddled the weary length of the Mississippi again, to its junction with the Illinois. The journey too up the Illinois river, which the Indians told them was a nearer and easier route to Lake Michigan than the Wisconsin, and the villages of the Illinois which they found and preached to, and to which Marquette promised to return the following year, are most graphically described; described like the rest of the journey, tersely, simply and unpretendingly as by a scholar and a man of careful observation and practical sense. So, too, is told the portage through Mud Lake, from the Desplaines to the Chicago, from which, perhaps, the first white men who were ever on the site of Chicago, Marquette and his companions emerged on Lake Michigan and rowed along its western shore until they reached Green Bay and mission of St. Francis Xavier.

This voyage was just four months long, and in it the travelers had paddled their frail barks over 2,700 miles.

One detail only of this voyage I would quote from Father Marquette's own account that I may call attention to how beautifully it has since been used in American literature.

On the arrival at the first village of Illinois, which they visited on their journey, Marquette had declared to them with the customary presents and symbolic language, that he came in peace, that he came to declare to them the greatness and goodness of the true God, and that the great chief of the

French had subdued the Iroquois and spread peace everywhere.

"When I had finished my speech," says Father Marquette, "the sachem arose and laying his hand on the head of a little slave whom he was about to give us, spoke thus: I thank thee, Black Gown, and thee, Frenchmen, for taking so much pains to come and visit us; never has the earth been so beautiful nor the sun so bright as to-day, never has our river been so calm nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed; never has our tobacco had so fine a flavor nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it to-day. Here is my son, that I give thee, that thou may knowest my heart; I pray thee to take pity on me and all my nation. Thou knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all; thou speakest to him and hearest his word; ask him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us that we may know him."

Longfellow, recognizing the beauty of this historical speech, has paraphrased it, or indeed almost literally transcribed it, in *Hiawatha*. You will remember the visit of the Black Robe to Hiawatha and his people:

"O'er the water, floating, flying,
Something in the hazy distance,
Something in the mists of morning,
Loomed and lifted from the water,
Now seemed floating, now seemed flying,
Coming nearer, nearer, nearer.
Was it Shingebis, the diver,
Or the pelican, the Shada,
Or the heron, the Shuhbush-gah,
Or the white goose, Wau-be-wawa,

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With the water dripping, flashing,
From its glossy neck and feathers?
It was neither goose nor diver,
Neither pelican nor heron,
O'er the water floating, flying,
Through the shining mist of morning,
But a birch canoe with paddles,
Rising, sinking on the water,
Dripping, flashing in the sunshine;
And within it came a people,
From the distant land of Wabun,
From the farthest realms of morning,
Came the Black Robe chief, the Prophet,
He, the Priest of Prayer, the Pale Face,
With his guides and his companions.
And the noble Hiawatha,
With his hands aloft extended,
Held aloft in sign of welcome,
Waited, full of exultation,
Till the birch canoe with paddles
Grated on the shining pebbles,
Stranded on the sandy margin.
Till the Black Robe chief, the Pale Face,
With the cross upon his bosom,
Landed on the sandy margin.
Then the joyous Hiawatha
Cried aloud and spake in this wise:
Beautiful is the sun, O strangers,
When you come so far to see us;
All our town in peace awaits you,
All our doors stand open for you;
You shall enter all our wigwams,
For the heart's right hand we give you.
Never bloomed the earth so gayly,
Never shone the sun so brightly,
As to-day they shine and blossom
When you come so far to see us!
Never was our lake so tranquil,
Nor so free from rocks and sand-bars;
For, your birch canoe in passing,
Has removed both rock and sand-bar!
Never before had our tobacco
Such a sweet and pleasant flavor;
Never the broad leaves of our corn fields
Were so beautiful to look on
As they seem to us this morning
When you come so far to see us!
And the Black Robe Chief made answer,
Stammered in his speech a little,
Speaking words yet unfamiliar;
Peace be with you Hiawatha,
Peace be with you and your people;
Peace of prayer and peace of pardon,
Peace of Christ and joy of Mary!"

EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN.

HISTORY OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS OF CHICAGO.

IV.

UNTIL 1859, the Rush Medical College was the only medical school in Chicago. Early in that year the trustees of Lind University, recently organized, while planning for the development of a true university, signified to Dr. H. A. Johnson, and two or three other physicians, the desirability of organizing a medical school as a department of that university. This led to a meeting in the office of Drs. David Rutter and R. N. Isham, March 12th, 1859, of Drs. H. A. Johnson, Edmund Andrews, R. N. Isham and David Rutter, at which the following propositions were presented in behalf of the board of trustees of the university and, after due consideration, were accepted by the physicians named, viz.—

1st. That the university would furnish for the temporary use of the Department of Medicine, rooms free of rent for three years; and at the end of that time would provide a permanent building suitable for that department.

2d. The Faculty of the Department of Medicine, when organized, should have the right to arrange the curriculum of studies, the length of the annual courses of instruction, and to

nominate to the board of trustees, all persons for filling vacancies in the Faculty.

3d. All income to the medical department after defraying the current expenses, to be used in adding to the means of illustration for the first three years, during which the members of the medical Faculty would give their services gratuitously.

4th. The medical degrees to be conferred by the university upon the recommendation of the Faculty of the medical department.

These propositions, with some minor details, were adopted and signed by Drs. Johnson, Rutter, Andrews and Isham on the part of the Faculty, and by the executive committee of the board of trustees of the university. At the same meeting it was decided that the Faculty of medicine should embrace the following professorships, viz: descriptive anatomy, physiology and histology, inorganic chemistry, materia medica and therapeutics, general pathology and public hygiene, surgical anatomy and operations of surgery, principles and practice of surgery, obstetrics and diseases of women and children, principles and practice of medicine, medical juris-

prudence, organic chemistry and toxicology, clinical medicine, and clinical surgery.

Drs. Johnson, Andrews and Isham were appointed a committee to invite N. S. Davis, professor of principles and practice of medicine and Wm. H. Byford professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children in the Rush Medical College, to accept the same positions in the proposed medical department of the university. On receiving satisfactory assurances that the new college would not only require full three years of medical study and a longer annual course of college instruction, but a strictly graded curriculum, as had been earnestly advocated by Prof. Davis for several years, both these gentlemen resigned their respective professorships in the Rush Medical College and accepted corresponding chairs in the new college.

Being thus strengthened by the addition of Drs. Davis and Byford to their number, the Faculty proceeded with the work of completing the organization of their department of the university by unanimously adopting the following regulations, viz.—

1st. That the minimum period of study for the medical student should be three years.

2d. That the annual term of college instruction should be five months, and that each student be required to attend at least two such annual courses before becoming eligible for the degree of M.D.

3d. That the curriculum, or the sev-

eral branches of medical science and practice, should be graded in such manner that the more elementary branches should occupy the attention of the student during the first half of his period of medical studies, and to be called the junior course; and the more practical branches should occupy his attention during the second half of his period of study and to constitute the senior course, thus dividing the students in attendance each year, into junior and senior classes, according to the period of their progress in medical studies.

4th. Full examinations were to be enforced on all the branches taught at the close of each annual course.

Nominations of parties for filling the remaining professorships were made, and confirmed by the trustees of the university, thereby making the first Faculty complete as follows, viz.: Titus Deville, of England, professor of descriptive anatomy; J. H. Hollister, professor of physiology and histology; F. Mahla, professor of inorganic chemistry; H. A. Johnson, professor of materia medica and therapeutics; M. K. Taylor, professor of general pathology and public hygiene; R. N. Isham, professor of surgical anatomy and operations of surgery; Edmund Andrews, professor of principles and practice of surgery, and of clinical surgery; W. H. Byford, professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children; N. S. Davis, professor of principles and practice of medicine, and of clinical medicine; H. G. Spofford, Esq., professor of

medical jurisprudence; F. Mahla, professor of organic chemistry and toxicology; David Rutter, emeritus professor of obstetrics; and Horace Wardner, demonstrator of anatomy. The five first named branches in this list constituted the junior course, and the remaining branches the senior course, and it was the first attempt to establish a graded consecutive course of medical college instruction in this country. The complete plan designed for ultimate adoption, was to divide the various branches into three groups and the matriculates of each year into three classes, in accordance with the period of medical study; but it was thought more prudent to commence with two divisions and add the third as soon as sufficient patronage had been secured to justify it. The university fitted up temporary accommodations in Lind's Block, corner of Randolph and Market streets, and the first annual course of instruction was opened on the evening of October 9th, 1859, with the introductory address by Prof. N. S. Davis, which may be found in the *Chicago Medical Examiner* Vol. I., p. 1, 1860. The whole number of matriculates for this first year was 33—19 in the junior, and fourteen in the senior course. Of the latter 9 received the degree of M.D. and 2, *ad-eundem* degrees at the first public commencement, March, 1860.

In addition to the regular lectures in the college, in both junior and senior courses throughout the annual term of five months, the senior class had a surgical clinic on Tuesday and

Friday mornings in the Mercy Hospital by Prof. Andrews, and a medical clinic in the medical wards of the same hospital on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings of each week, by Prof. Davis; and regular attendance on the hospital clinical instruction during, at least one annual college term was a necessary requisite for graduation, as was also attention to practical anatomy by dissections under direction of the demonstrator by the junior class.

Soon after the close of the first college term, Professor Deville found it necessary to return to England and consequently resigned the chair of descriptive anatomy. The excellent collection of anatomical preparations he had brought with him from Paris, were secured for permanent use of the college, however, and the vacancy was filled by transferring Prof. Hollister from the chair of physiology and histology to that of descriptive anatomy. The chair vacated by transferring Prof. Hollister was filled by transferring Prof. H. A. Johnson from the chair of materia medica and therapeutics to that of physiology and histology, and Dr. A. L. McArthur, of Joliet, was appointed to the last vacancy.

The whole number of matriculates for the second term was 51, twelve of whom received the regular degree of M.D., two the *ad-eundem* degree, and one the honorary degree of M.D., at the public commencement in March, 1861. During the third annual college term the number of students in

attendance was 63, and the number of graduates receiving the degree of M.D., 17. In the meantime the great rebellion in the South had fairly begun, and in the summer of 1862 Prof. M. K. Taylor accepted the office of Surgeon to Volunteers in the U. S. Army; Dr. Horace Wardner, demonstrator of anatomy, had accepted a similar appointment several months previously, and Dr. A. L. McArthur resigned the chair of *materia medica*. To fill these vacancies Dr. Henry Wing was appointed to the chair vacated by Prof. M. K. Taylor; Dr. J. H. Hollister was transferred from the chair of descriptive anatomy to the one vacated by Prof. McArthur, and Dr. James S. Jewell was appointed professor of anatomy and demonstrator. Notwithstanding these changes, the progress of the medical department of the university was uninterrupted, and the fourth annual term was attended by 79 students, of whom 17 received the degree of M.D. Thus far the Faculty of the medical department had prosecuted its work very successfully in strict accordance with the agreement entered into with the trustees of the university, but the three years during which the temporary rooms in Lind's Block were to be occupied, had passed, and the steady growth of the medical classes had made the new and permanent building promised by the trustees in the original agreement a necessity. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Sylvester Lind, who had pledged an endowment of \$100,000 to other de-

partments of the university, and in honor of whom the institution had been named, made a bad financial failure before any part of it had been received by the university, which, with other losses, had rendered the board of trustees unable to fulfill the agreement in reference to a permanent medical college building. The medical Faculty anticipating this result, had been, for the two last years, reserving all the income of the medical department over the necessary current expenses, for a building fund, and in the summer of 1863 purchased a lot near the corner of State and Twenty-second streets and caused a convenient college building to be constructed thereon in time for the opening of the college term of 1863-64. The introductory lecture to this term was delivered by Prof. N. S. Davis in the hall of the new building October 12th, 1863, in which he describes its accommodations in the following words: "And this evening, at the commencement of the fifth annual lecture term, instead of climbing three long flights of stairs to reach temporary lecture rooms, we are assembled in a new and permanent college edifice, admirably arranged for the work for which it was designed. On the first floor is a library and dispensing room, a chemical laboratory and the spacious lecture room in which we are now assembled. On the second floor is a beautiful museum, and an anatomical and surgical amphitheater. On the third floor are the well-lighted and ventilated rooms for practical anatomy. All this

we have with a pecuniary encumbrance remaining of only six thousand dollars, payable in ten equal annual installments."

The number of matriculates during the term of 1863-64 was 89, and the number of graduates 17. Up to this time the degree had been conferred by the proper officers of Lind University, and the medical school had been regarded as an actual department of that institution. But, the trustees seeing no prospect of being soon able to fulfill their contract with the medical Faculty, such contract was by mutual consent abrogated in the spring of 1864; and the Faculty took immediate steps to effect an independent organization under a general incorporation law of the State. This was accomplished on the 26th day of April, 1864, under the name of the Chicago Medical College. At the same time the professor of principles and practice of medicine individually assumed the payment of the \$6,000 indebtedness incurred by the erection of the new college building, thus allowing the college under its new legal organization, to commence its career free from debt. These changes caused no change in the personnel of the Faculty, and the patronage of the college continued to increase with equal rapidity until during the annual term of 1867-68 when the whole number of students in attendance was 113, and the number of graduates at the public commencement at the close of the term, 50. Satisfied that a sufficient foundation had been laid,

the Faculty and trustees, at a meeting held April 25th, 1868, unanimously resolved to complete their ideal plan of a medical college, by requiring a moderate standard of preliminary education before matriculation; three years of medical study, attendance on three annual courses of medical college instruction of six months each; the grading of all the branches of medicine into three groups, one appropriate for each year of medical studies, and the arrangement of the students accordingly into 1st year, 2d year and 3d year classes, each having its own definite course of instruction extending through the whole term; personal instruction in the laboratories of chemistry, practical anatomy, histology, physiology and pathology for the 1st and 2d year classes; and attendance in daily hospital and dispensary clinical instruction of the 2d and 3d year classes.

These important additional requirements and advantages were clearly stated in the tenth annual commencement for 1868-69, and being carried out honestly by the Faculty, the result was a marked diminution in the number of students in attendance on account of the increased expenses occasioned by the month added to the length of the term and the addition of a third course.

The whole number attending 1868-69 was 85, and the number of graduates 41; and the following year, 1869-70, the matriculates numbered only 72 and the graduates 27. But by the

end of that term the three classes had began to sustain each other in consecutive order, and the term for 1870-71 was attended by 107 matriculates with 30 graduates at its close; and they have continued to advance until the number in attendance at this date 1889-90 is over 220 although the annual college term has been further extended to seven months, and other increased requirements in several directions.

During the same year, 1868, however, the city council passed an ordinance for widening State street in such manner as would cut off so much from the front part of the medical college building as would destroy its utility for college purposes. This necessitated the selection of a new location. The lease of a part of the ground belonging to the Mercy Hospital, on the corner of Prairie avenue and Twenty-sixth street, was obtained on terms mutually advantageous to the hospital and college. With the proceeds of the sale of the college lot and building on State street and \$15,000 appropriated by the trustees of the Northwestern University, an ample and well-planned college building was erected on the new lot selected at a cost of little more than \$30,000, during the summer of 1870. The conditions on which the \$15,000 was obtained from the Northwestern University, were, that undergraduates in the university should have access to the laboratory of chemistry of the

medical college for practical instruction, and graduates from the college of liberal arts of the university, should be entitled to full medical instruction in the medical college without charge for tuition; and further, the medical degrees should be conferred under the authority of the university on the recommendation of the medical Faculty, and the college should be called the "Chicago Medical College and Medical Department of the Northwestern University." On the other hand the medical college should retain its one corporate organization with full control of its property and the right to regulate the courses of medical study, the length of college terms, the conditions for graduation, and to fill all vacancies in its own Faculty—a full report of all such changes and regulations, however, to be made annually to the board of trustees of the University. The union thus made with the Northwestern University in 1869, has continued satisfactory to both parties until the present time. The new college building was completed in time for the opening of the annual college term of 1870-71, and the general introductory lecture was delivered by Prof. H. A. Johnson, in which he gave an interesting history of the college and its relations to the general progress of medical education in this country (see *Medical Examiner*, vol. XI., p. 659).

N. S. DAVIS.



Magazine of Western History

S. J. Jones

SAMUEL J. JONES, M.D. LL.D.

THE American Academy of Medicine, which was organized in 1876 at Philadelphia, held its thirteenth annual session in Chicago, on the 13th and 14th of November, 1889, that being the first meeting of the academy in the west. Prior to that time all of its meetings had been in eastern cities, and the western public had not had an opportunity to see assembled the members of an organization which represents to a large extent the more liberally educated members of the medical profession of the United States, and which has for its chief object, elevation of the general educational standard of the profession.

The late Dr. Frank H. Hamilton of New York, second president of the academy, aptly stated the purposes of the organization in his annual address, when he said it was designed "to remedy a great and universally admitted evil, namely, imperfect preparation for the study of medicine, and its almost inevitable sequel, imperfect qualification on the part of those who are admitted to practice."

Still more clearly and broadly are the objects of the academy stated in its constitution, as follows:

"First—to bring those who are alumni of collegiate, scientific and medical schools into closer relations with each other.

"Second—to encourage young men to pursue regular courses of study in classical or scientific institutions, before entering upon the study of medicine.

"Third—to extend the bounds of medical science, to elevate the profession, to relieve human suffering and to prevent disease."

In view of the fact that only those physicians who, previous to graduation in medicine, have received the degree of Bachelor of Arts or its equivalent, after a regular collegiate course, and who have had three years' experience in the practice of medicine, are eligible to membership in the academy, its annual meetings are not so largely attended as are those of some other national medical organizations, but it is not probable that any other national convention, professional or otherwise, brings together an abler or more scholarly body of men.

At the last meeting of the academy a Chicago physician, who had previously served two terms as vice-president, was elevated to the presidency of the organization.

The new president is Dr. Samuel J. Jones, who for more than twenty years has been identified with the medical profession and medical institutions of this city. A practitioner of more than local renown, he is known to the public generally as a skillful operator within the special field to which he has for many years given his attention, and to the profession as a man of broad culture, with a thorough knowledge of the principles and practice of medicine, who has labored earnestly and assiduously, through the various associations and societies with which he is connected, as well

as through the press, to elevate medical education to the highest available plane; to stimulate practitioners to put forth their best efforts to keep pace with the developments of medical science, and to improve in a general way the character and standing of the profession to which he belongs.

For several years he was editor of the *Chicago Medical Journal and Examiner*, which represented the consolidation of two journals formerly published in this city, and which has held a front rank among the medical publications of the country. His contributions to medical literature through this and other similar channels have been numerous.

He received a liberal early education and before he commenced the practice of medicine in Chicago his literary and medical education had been supplemented by years of medical and surgical practice in a field which afforded the best facilities for study and investigation and also by the professional and general knowledge gained through foreign travel, under circumstances which gave him the *entree* to the most renowned medical associations and societies of Europe.

Dr. Jones was born at Bainbridge, Pennsylvania, on the 22d of March, 1836. He is a son of Dr. Robert H. Jones, who graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1830, and practiced medicine in the Keystone State, from that time up to the date of his death, in 1863. His mother's maiden name

was Sarah M. Ekel, of one of the old families of the old town of Lebanon, Pennsylvania. Having, from the time he was old enough to give his attention to books, had the best educational advantages, he was prepared to enter college at an early age. He was matriculated at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts from that institution in 1857, when he was twenty-one years of age. Three years later he received the degree of Master of Arts from his *alma mater*, and in 1884 the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by the same institution.

Immediately after his graduation from Dickinson College, he began the study of medicine under the preceptorship of his father, and the following year he entered the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, from which his father had graduated twenty-eight years earlier.

In 1860, at the end of a three years' course of study, he received his medical degree from the university, and was ready to begin the active practice of his profession. His attention had been attracted to the United States naval service, which he looked upon as an inviting field for the young practitioner, both on account of the professional advantages offered, and the opportunity which it would afford for adding to his stock of general information and knowledge of the world. With a view to entering that branch of the government service, he

submitted himself to a competitive examination for the position of assistant surgeon in the navy, in which he was successful. He received his appointment only a few months before the war of the rebellion commenced, and, a short time after the inauguration of President Lincoln was ordered to the United States steam frigate *Minnesota*, which sailed, under sealed orders, from Boston on the 8th day of May, 1861, as the flag ship of the Atlantic blockading squadron.

From the time she sailed out of Boston Harbor, with banners flying and salutes resounding from all quarters, until she returned to the same port twenty-one months later for repairs, the fires in the *Minnesota* were not allowed to go down. During all that time she was in active service, her most hazardous experience being participation in the deadly conflict with the *Merrimac* when the *Cumbarland* and *Congress* fell victims to the rebel iron-clad, in the memorable engagement in Hampton Roads on the 8th of March, 1862.

Assistant surgeon Jones participated in the naval battle which resulted in the capture of the Confederate forts at Hatteras Inlet in August of 1861, and which put a stop to the troublesome blockade running at that point. At the opening of that engagement an effort was made to land the forces on Hatteras Island, on which forts Hatteras and Henry were located, but a storm came on, and the vessels were compelled to put to sea, leaving three hundred and twenty officers and

men, the only ones who had been landed, entirely unprotected and within two miles of the Confederate forts, garrisoned by fifteen hundred men. It was night time, however, and the Confederates, supposing the entire force aboard the vessels had been landed, awaited all night under arms the attack which they expected would be made, and did not discover their error until the following morning when the vessels of the squadron returned from sea and the engagement was renewed. Assistant surgeon Jones was among those set ashore, and he has still a vivid recollection of that night's experience of the handful of men, left without food or ammunition, in sight of the enemy, and in momentary expectation of being captured and carried into the forts as prisoners of war.

That was the first naval battle in history in which steamships were used and kept in motion while in action.

The fifteen hundred prisoners captured, as the result of the surrender of the forts, were the largest number of prisoners which had, up to that time, been captured in any engagement of the war. In this connection a digression will be permissible, for the purpose of putting into print a bit of probably unwritten history. It is well known that in this engagement the land forces connected with the expedition rendered no important service, but not so well known, perhaps, that in view of this fact, the Confederate commander, Com. Barron, refused, after raising a flag of truce, to sur-

render to Gen. Butler, the ranking officer, until the latter had been delegated to receive the surrender by Flag officer Stringham, the officer commanding the naval forces. His reason for pursuing that course, expressed in very vigorous English, was that it was the naval and not the land forces which had compassed his defeat and made the surrender a necessity.

After this engagement assistant surgeon Jones returned to duty on the *Minnesota*, and was aboard that vessel until a short time before the fight with the *Merrimac*. During this time it was known that the iron-clad war vessel was being fitted up at Norfolk, and that she would prove a formidable and dangerous enemy, the officers of the Union squadron were fully convinced. They also knew that the *Monitor* was being constructed, but what service she would be able to render, was a question about which there was more or less difference of opinion. While hoping that they might be re-inforced by a vessel which would at least be the equal of the *Merrimac* in naval conflict, the officers of the squadron had determined in any event to attack her whenever she should appear.

So complete were the preparations which had been made on the *Minnesota* for an engagement, and so good was the discipline aboard, that on the darkest nights, with her eight hundred officers and men, the ship could be prepared for action within eight minutes from the time the enemy was sighted. The plan of attack which

had been agreed upon, was to keep the vessels of the squadron in close proximity to each other, and when the *Merrimac* should make her appearance, the heavy frigates were to bear down upon her, and by "ramming" send her to the bottom at the risk of going down themselves at the same time. That in this way the iron-clad might have been destroyed, in her first engagement, is more than probable, had she not made her appearance at a time when the steamers were prevented from reaching her, because of low water on the intervening bar, and she was thereby enabled to engage them in detail.

In January, just preceding this engagement, assistant surgeon Jones was again detached, this time to accompany the Burnside and Goldsborough Expedition against Roanoke Island, as the surgeon of Flag officer Goldsborough's staff. After the capture of Roanoke Island, he was assigned to duty on the staff of Commander Rowan, in the expedition which resulted in the capture of Newbern, Washington, and other important points on the inner waters of North Carolina. Most of the service which he was called upon to render while connected with these expeditions was extremely hazardous, and many were the incidents of heroism which he witnessed among the brave seamen, who participated in the short but hotly contested engagements, which were its distinguishing feature. In one instance, at Roanoke Island, when he had passed under a galling

fire from one vessel to another, to look after the wounded of a vessel that had no surgeon, a gallant gunner who had fallen at his post of duty, was the first to receive attention. Realizing that he was mortally wounded and had but a few minutes to live, the seaman said: "It's no use trying to do anything for me, surgeon; I've got to die, and it's hard because I leave a family behind; but as long as I've got to die, if they'll carry me to my gun, and let me fire one more shot I'll die in peace."

After these expeditions Dr. Jones returned to the *Minnesota*. Later he was with Lieut. Cushing of "Albermarle" fame, and Lieut. Lawson, a no less daring and intrepid officer, in their operations on the Nansemond River, which were designed to relieve the Union forces under command of Gen. Peck, then hemmed in by Gen. Longstreet's command, at Suffolk, Virginia.

In order to afford immediate relief to Gen. Peck, such boats as could be picked up, were armed as well as they could be under the circumstances, and sent up the Nansemond, a narrow and tortuous stream, to participate in some of the hottest fighting of that campaign, and, all things considered, to engage in a service about as perilous as any in which the naval forces took part during the war.

In the the Spring of 1863, after two years of such service, Dr. Jones was assigned to duty at the naval rendezvous at Philadelphia. Whilst there he passed his second examination, for

promotion, and some months later was advanced to the grade of surgeon. He was then transferred to the naval rendezvous at Chicago, where in addition to his other duties, he was designated to act as examining surgeon of those wishing to enter the medical corps for duty in the naval service, in connection with the Mississippi river squadron.

While stationed at Chicago, he had the unusual experience of examining and passing into the United States government service, over three thousand confederate prisoners of war, who were thus liberated from northern military prisons, after being regularly enlisted in the naval service.

It is a fact not generally known that in 1863-64 a large number of the captured confederates, who were confined at Camp Douglas, Chicago, at Rock Island and Alton, Illinois, and at Columbus, Ohio, made application to the government to be enlisted in the Union service. Their representations were, that they had been impressed into the confederate military service; that they had not voluntarily taken up arms against the government, and that they preferred to fight for the Union and not against it.

These men were not allowed to enter the military service, for the reason that they would have been exposed to the danger of being captured and executed as deserters by the confederates, but the government availed itself of the proffered services to a considerable extent, though in a different way. Those who were physically

capacitated for the service were allowed to enter the navy, and were placed aboard vessels sailing for foreign ports, a corresponding number of experienced men being thereby released from duty at those ports, and brought back for active service. Before the confederates were enlisted, their physical qualifications had to be passed upon favorably by the examining surgeon designated to act in that capacity.

Surgeon Jones visited all the military prisons named, for this purpose, and the government accepted these three thousand able bodied southerners, who contributed their share to the suppression of the rebellion.

In the summer of 1864, he was relieved from duty at Chicago, and ordered to report to Admiral Farragut, who was then in command of the West Gulf blockading squadron. His first assignment in that squadron was to the sloop-of-war *Portsmouth*, but after a little time he was detached and assigned to duty as surgeon of the New Orleans Naval Hospital, and purveyor of medical supplies for the squadron.

At that time yellow fever was prevalent to a certain extent in the squadron and the careful attention given to sanitary matters during that period in the history of New Orleans, when the city was under military government, undoubtedly prevented the breaking out of a serious and disastrous epidemic, and taught the resident population a lesson which

has since been kept in mind. The government military and naval surgeons made a careful study of the disease, with the result that some interesting facts relating to its character were brought to light, or at least had much additional light thrown upon them. Among other things, the infectious rather than contagious character of the disease, if not for the first time brought prominently before the medical profession, was so clearly defined as to attract special attention. There were numerous cases of the disease in the naval hospital, and it was impossible to wholly separate the fever patients from others.

In accordance with the hospital regulations, they were stripped of their clothing, given a bath and fresh, clean clothing, before being admitted into the wards with other sick and disabled inmates. Although sufferers from this scourge of the South were treated at the hospital during the closing months of 1864, and as late as January of 1865, it was noted that none of the patients who came in direct contact with them contracted the fever, while the assistant surgeon whose duty it was to receive patients arriving, and the guard who received and disinfected their clothing, both fell victims to the disease. Within the hospital the fever was kept under perfect control and there were no cases outside the quarantine established around it.

In the fall of 1865, the war having ended, the naval hospital at New Or-

leans was closed and Dr. Jones was ordered to Pensacola, Florida, as surgeon at the navy yard and naval hospital located there, where he remained until 1866, when he was ordered north and again assigned to duty at Chicago.

After a time the marine rendezvous to which he was attached at Chicago was closed, and after awaiting orders for several months he was ordered east in 1867, and assigned to duty as surgeon of the frigate *Sabine*; a practice ship for naval apprentices, then cruising on the Atlantic coast. This was his last active duty in the naval service. Having determined to engage in private practice he tendered his resignation, which was accepted on the 1st of March, 1868, after he had spent eight years in the navy and had participated in the active and trying services incident to the war period.

He returned to Philadelphia and having become a member of the American Medical Association, he was accredited a delegate from that body, to the Medical Societies of Europe. At the same time he was commissioned by Gov. Geary to report upon hospital and sanitary matters in Great Britain and upon the continent of Europe, for the state of Pennsylvania.

He attended during that year meetings of noted medical societies of Europe, held at Oxford, Heidelberg and Dresden. At the last named place, during the meeting of the association of German Physicians and Naturalists, held in September of 1868, the first Otological Congress ever held

was organized, of which Dr. Jones was a member and participated in its deliberations. The remainder of that year he spent investigating matters pertaining to medicine and surgery in different parts of Europe. At the end of the year he returned to the United States and came to Chicago, where he established himself in private practice. Prior to and whilst traveling abroad, he had given special attention to that branch of the practice which deals with diseases of the eye and of the ear, and early in 1869, but a short time after he located in Chicago, he was made a member of the professional staff of St. Luke's Hospital, where he established a department for the treatment of these diseases, with which he has been connected since that time.

In 1870 he was again accredited a delegate from the American Medical Association, to similar foreign associations, and he again went abroad to spend some time in research and investigation. The same year a chair of ophthalmology and otology was created in Chicago Medical College, the medical department of Northwestern University, and Dr. Jones accepted the new professorship tendered to him, which he has ever since held.

For purposes of clinical instruction in the college, he started an eye and ear department in Mercy Hospital, and also in the South Side Dispensary, both of which departments he conducted for about ten years. He was also, for several years, one of the

surgical staff of the Illinois Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary.

Although he was for some years a member, and president of the board of examining surgeons for United States pensioners in Chicago, he has not been engaged in general practice since 1870, but has confined his work exclusively to the treatment of those diseases which require the attention of the oculist and aurist.

Few western physicians have participated so actively as has Prof. Jones, in the deliberations of noted gatherings of medical men from all parts of the world. In 1876 he was a delegate from the Illinois State Medical Society,—of which he became a member in 1869,—to the Centennial International Medical Congress which met in Philadelphia. In 1881 he was a delegate from the American Medical Association and the American Academy of Medicine, to the seventh International Medical Congress, held in London. As president of the section of otology in the ninth International Medical Congress, held in Washington, in 1887, he was *ex officio*, a member of the executive committee,

upon which devolved the responsibility of making the preparations for the Congress and the entertainment of foreign delegates. At all these important conventions of medical men, he has been an active, working member, and has become noted for his capacity to do a large amount of work without ever appearing to be uncomfortably hurried. In his private practice he has been conspicuous for his devotion to the welfare of his patients, and in the public professional positions which he has occupied, and in the various medical organizations of which he is a member, he has been not less conspicuous for his labors in behalf of the elevation of his profession.

He has never participated actively in political life, and has made no effort to attain any prominence other than that which might come to him as the reward of painstaking and conscientious professional labors, in varied fields, which have afforded unusual opportunities for exceptional experience.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

DANIEL THURBER NELSON A.M. M.D.

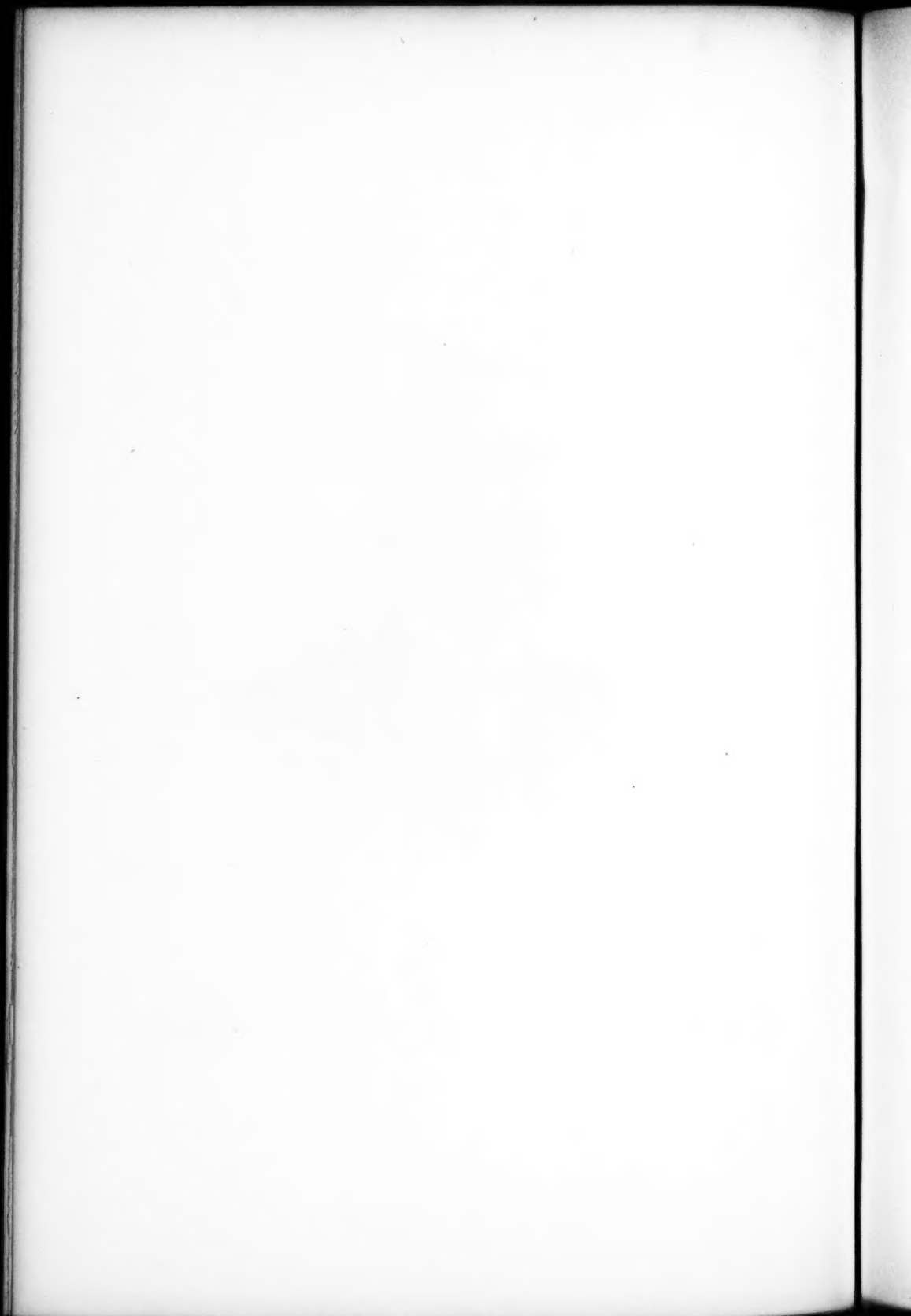
SAID Lord Bacon: "I hold every man a debtor to his profession; from the which, as men of course do seek countenance and profit, so ought they of duty to endeavor themselves, by way of amends, to be a help and ornament thereto." There are men, and

the number is by no means small—who drift into what we are accustomed to look upon as the learned professions, in the same way that thousands of men in the lower walks of life drift into the ordinary bread-winning occupations. Having no special



Engraving of Western History

Samuel Z. Nelson M.D.



preference for any calling, and without feeling they have any particular fitness for a certain profession, they find themselves drifting in that direction as a result of associations or environments, and in the course of time they also find themselves shouldering responsibilities for which they have scant liking, carrying burdens which rest heavily upon them, and laboring in a field which has for them no attraction other than what it yields in the way of annual incomes.

No small number of men who have thus been thrust by chance into professional life, are measurably successful in the pursuit of their callings. They appear to take the Baconian view that they "are debtors to their profession," and hence under obligation to be "a help and ornament thereto." Holding this view they strive earnestly and labor assiduously to achieve success, not alone for the reward it brings, but in order that they may reflect credit upon their vocation as well. It seems reasonably certain, however, that the man who starts out on a professional career under such circumstances, must carry a much heavier load than the man who chooses a profession because he feels himself adapted to it, who finds himself in hearty sympathy with all its requirements, and experiences genuine pleasure in meeting its demands. The first must toil day in and day out from a sense of duty, while the second engages in what is to a great extent a labor of love. The first must wear a yoke

which can hardly fail to be more or less galling and uncomfortable, while the second carries easily and gracefully his professional burdens.

The eminent Chicago physician whose name appears at the head of this sketch, impresses even those who meet him in only a casual way, as a man who has drifted easily and naturally into the medical profession, who realizes he has made no mistake in the choice of his vocation, and who feels thoroughly at home in the position which he occupies. This first impression deepens with a more intimate acquaintance, and familiarity with the history of his life, leads to the unbiased and impartial view, that the splendid success which he has achieved, is the logical sequence of talent rightly used, together with energy and industry never misapplied.

Dr. Nelson himself, with characteristic modesty, is in the habit of saying to his friends, that what he has accomplished in his chosen field of labor is due to the fact that he knows "nothing but medicine." While this statement cannot in justice be permitted to pass unchallenged, it may properly be said, that he has found in the study and practice of medicine an occupation more congenial to his tastes than anything else could possibly have been; that he could not have taken up any other calling without doing violence to the dominant instincts of his nature, and that he is devoted above all else to his profession. Never dreaming in his boyhood

days that he should grow up to be anything other than a doctor, the whole course of his education was shaped to that end, so far as he could himself control it. Believing in the profession and feeling himself fitted to meet its requirements, none of the numerous obstacles which he found from time to time in his pathway, were allowed to more than temporarily check his progress towards the goal of his ambition.

Daniel Thurber Nelson was born in Milford, Worcester county, Massachusetts, September 16th, 1839. His father was Francis Drake Nelson, and his mother Lydia Thurber (Pond) Nelson. Mrs. Nelson's mother belonged to the old Massachusetts family of Thurbers, and was a sister of Dr. Daniel Thurber, one of the famous physicians of colonial days, after whom Dr. Nelson was named. The Nelson family originated in New England in 1638, when Thomas Nelson came over to America from Rowley, England, with twenty other families. He located in Massachusetts, and although he died in England, when re-visiting his native land, his family remained in this country, and the Nelsons of Maine, New Hampshire, and north Massachusetts are his descendants. Francis Drake Nelson was an enterprising Massachusetts farmer, who, finding himself hampered in his operations by limited means, concluded in 1841 to emigrate to the far west, where millions of fertile acres of land awaited the coming of the agriculturist, and where large

farms could be secured for small outlay of money.

At the end of a long and tedious journey which began at Providence, Rhode Island, he found himself with his wife and infant son at Dubuque, Iowa. From Providence they had gone to New York by steamer, and then by way of the Hudson river, the Erie canal, the Ohio canal, the Ohio river, and the Mississippi river to their destination, the entire trip being made by water. It took six weeks to make this trip, and that was considered good time. Mr. Nelson remained, with his family, at Dubuque for something like two years, when he removed to the adjoining county of Delaware, where he located among the pioneers of the Hawkeye State, and there the subject of this sketch spent the early years of his life. When he was ten years of age his father was killed, and the sudden taking off of the head of the family, left the widow and orphan away from relatives. Mrs. Nelson decided to return to her friends in the east, and, accompanied by her child, set out by wagon for Chicago. From Chicago to Michigan city she traveled by steamer, and from Michigan city to her home in Massachusetts by rail. Owing to the improved methods of transportation, she made the trip back to Massachusetts in nine days, five of which had been taken up by the wagon ride from Iowa to Chicago, whereas it had taken six weeks to travel from the Bay State to the Hawkeye State, eight years prior to

that time. After she again settled in her native state, Mrs. Nelson devoted herself to the education of her son, and through her loving care and self-denial, he was enabled for several years thereafter to give reasonably close attention to his studies. He attended school regularly in winter and a portion of the time in summer, working during vacations, or whenever his services were needed, on his grandfather's farm, where he made his home with his mother.

Before he was eighteen years of age he had finished his academic studies, and in 1857 entered Amherst College. In 1861 he graduated from that institution with honor, notwithstanding the fact that he had found it necessary to teach school a portion of the time during his collegiate course in order to obtain the money necessary to defray his expenses. In 1862 he entered the medical department of Harvard College. Just at that time some of the bloodiest battles of the war of the rebellion were being fought, and soon after young Nelson entered Harvard, and commenced his medical studies, the steamer *Daniel Webster*, of the United States Sanitary Commission landed at Boston, and unloaded a large number of sick, wounded and disabled soldiers to be cared for. There was an urgent call for nurses to engage in the hospital transport service, and Nelson was among those who responded to the call. After remaining in this service a short time, he entered the United States Army Hospital service, at the opening of

the Mason General Hospital in Boston. After a time he became house surgeon or acting medical cadet and retained this position until 1865. In the meantime he had kept up with his course of study in the medical department of Harvard College, and in the spring of 1865 he received a diploma from that institution, and distinguished himself by graduating at the head of his class.

Immediately after his graduation he entered the military field service as an acting assistant surgeon, and was assigned to the army operating on the James river in Virginia, as recorder of operations in the field hospital. He was attached to the 24th Army Corps, and reached Petersburg just at the time when Lee's army was being hemmed in and pressed on all sides, and when there was almost continuous fighting. The surgeons connected with what was known as the "flying hospitals" were kept busy almost day and night attending to the wounded, and the young Harvard graduate found no time to rest until the final surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox. After that he was on duty for a time at the post hospital at Richmond. Realizing then that the war was over and that his services were no longer in demand, he began thinking about engaging in the civil practice, and the question of selecting a location was the first to be disposed of. This was a matter which it took some time to settle, and although he was mustered out of the military service in midsummer, it was not until

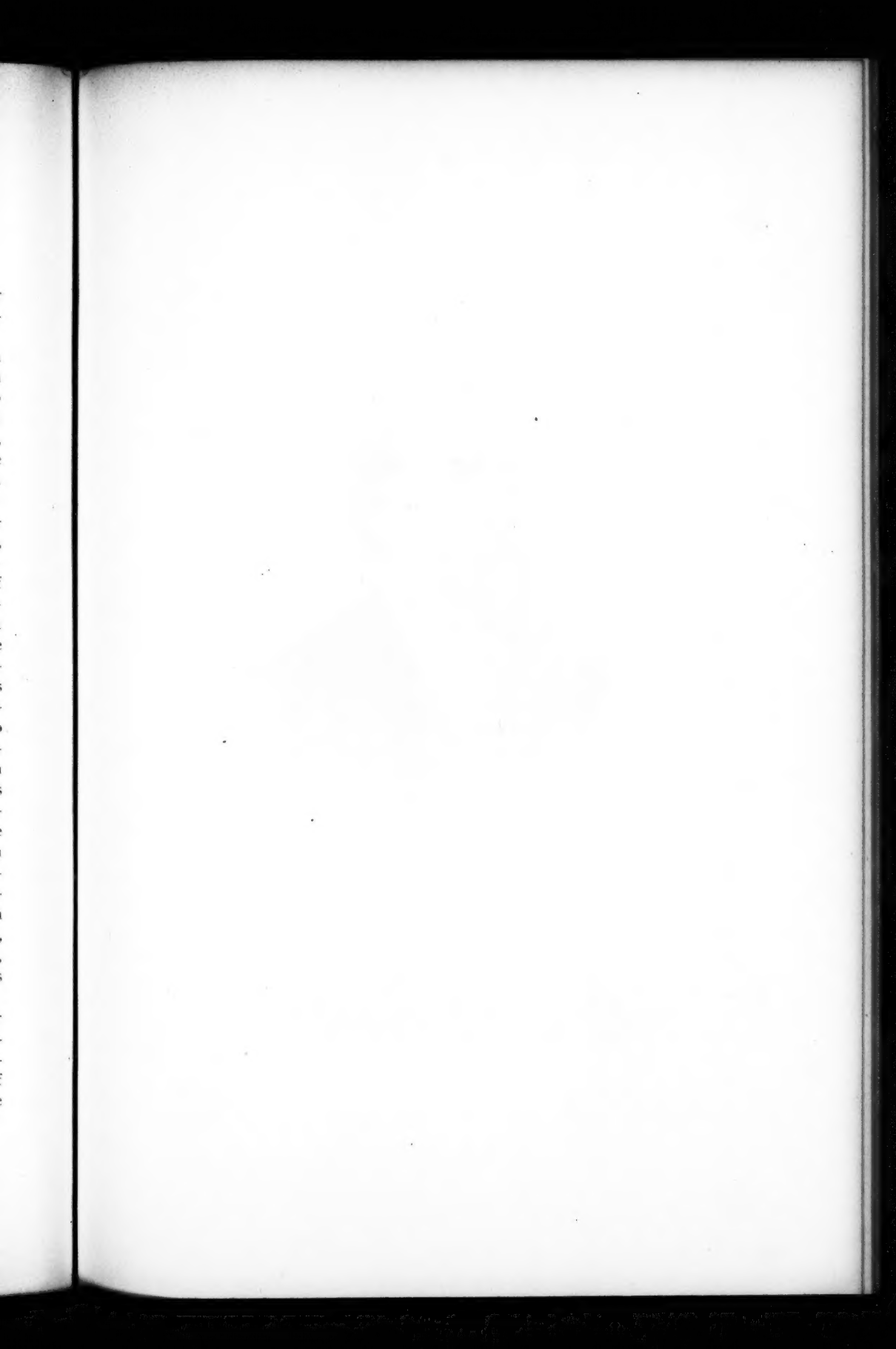
November 1st, 1865, that he came to Chicago and entered regularly into the practice of his profession.

That he entered upon his work thoroughly equipped and fully prepared to meet any professional demands that might be made upon him, is attested by the fact that success attended his efforts from the start. Within a few months after he commenced practicing in Chicago, he attracted the attention of the board of trustees of the Chicago Medical College, and was invited to fill the chair of "Physiology and Histology" in that institution. He remained in this position until 1879, when he resigned. In the meantime he had become noted for his successful treatment of the numerous serious and complicated diseases peculiar to women, and in 1880 he was appointed clinical adjunct to the chair of Gynecology in Rush Medical College, an institution which by reason of its character and standing, cannot afford to demand from those who become instructors under its auspices, anything less than the most perfect, thorough, and comprehensive knowledge of those particular branches of the practice of medicine, to which they are expected to give their attention. Dr. Nelson has retained his connection with the Rush Medical College since he was called to that institution in 1880, and now holds the position of professor of Clinical Gynecology. He has been one of the attending surgeons of the Woman's Hospital of Chicago since 1882, is now attending gynecologist to the

Presbyterian Hospital, and was for many years one of the attending physicians of Mercy Hospital.

He was a delegate to the Seventh International Medical Congress, which met in London in 1881, and was also a member of the ninth International Congress which met at Washington, D. C., in 1887. Since May, 1883, he has been a member of the British Medical Association, and he is still prominently identified with that association of renowned physicians, while the British Gynecological Society has paid him the compliment of making him a life member of that organization. His name occupies a prominent place on the rolls of the American Medical Association, the Illinois State Medical Society, Illinois State Microscopical Society, the Chicago Medical Society, the Chicago Gynecological Society, and the Chicago Academy of Sciences, and in the proceedings of all these societies and associations he takes a deep interest. At one time or another he has been more or less prominent in the deliberations of all these organizations. At the session of the International Medical Congress of 1887, a paper pertaining to Gynecology, which he submitted to the congress, attracted much attention, and it has since been given wide circulation.

In writing and speaking he is clear and forcible, particularly so when addressing himself to any subject pertaining to the theory and practice of medicine, and he rarely goes outside of his professional field.





A. C. C. Bowler

While his political and religious beliefs have always been well defined, and while he has always aimed to discharge all the duties incumbent upon him as a citizen and member of an orthodox Christian church, he has never sought prominence nor preferment of any kind, other than that which came to him as the reward of professional labors.

Dr. Nelson was married to Miss Sarah H. Travis of Holiston, Massachusetts, in 1862, and of the five children born to them, one daughter, Flora H., and one son, Francis Clark, are now living, to contribute their share to the felicity of a well-regulated and happy household. Lillian T. died November 8th, 1889.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

DANIEL ROBERT S. BROWER, M.D.

THE pioneer physicans of Chicago have been men who compared favorably with the physicians of any of the older cities in point of learning as well as in skill and ability as practitioners, and it only remains for those who have already stepped into, or may in the future step into their places, to sustain the character which has been given to the profession of this city to entitle them to a high rank among their professional brethren of the country at large.

That there does not appear to be even a remote possibility of a failure on the part of the younger practitioners to keep up to the standard of their predecessors, the most confirmed pessimist must admit. In everything which makes the honorable, high-minded, skilfull and successful practitioner of medicine, the younger physicians of Chicago—that is, those who have been identified with the profession in this city from fifteen to twenty-five years, and are now practically in the prime of manhood—are as a class

worthy successors of the possibly more noted pioneers. As a rule they are men of high character and first-class attainments, who have had the advantage of somewhat better educational training than their predecessors, who have kept pace with the growth and development of medical science, and who as conscientiously apply themselves to the discharge of professional duties in a vastly enlarged field of labor.

Among the busiest of this busy class of men, who in addition to the burdens placed upon them by patrons whose respect and confidence they have won by their own efforts, must carry the burdens shifted to their shoulders by older practitioners who seek the rest to which age entitles them, is Dr. Daniel Robert S. Brower, prominently identified with the Woman's Medical College of Chicago, a professor in Rush Medical College, and formerly one of the editors of the *Chicago Medical Journal*.

While Dr. Brower has been a suc-

cessful general practitioner, he has been conspicuously successful in the treatment of diseases of the nervous system, a branch of the practice to which he has given the most careful study and attention. As a member of the staff of physicians to St. Joseph's Hospital, patients suffering from this class of diseases are committed to his care; the same class of patients receive his attention as consulting physician of the Women's Hospital and at the Women's Medical College; his appointment to the chair of "diseases of the nervous system" some years since was a recognition of his broad information concerning these troublesome, complicated and dangerous ailments and his successful methods of treating them.

As an editor of the *Chicago Medical Journal* and through various other journals he has contributed largely to the medical literature bearing on this subject, and in the American Medical Association, of which he became a member in 1881, the Illinois State Medical Society, the Chicago Medical Society and the Chicago Pathological Society, with which he is also identified, his opinions concerning nervous disorders of all kinds always attract attention and carry with them unusual weight.

Dr. Brower was born in 1839 in Philadelphia—or rather what was then a suburb of the city, the old town of Manayunk. His father was Daniel R. Brower, who was of German extraction and a descendant of one of the early settlers of eastern Pennsylvania.

His mother was Miss Ann Billup (Farmer) Brower, who came of English parentage. The elder Brower was a well-to-do man of affairs, and gave his son careful early training in the schools of Philadelphia and Morristown. When comparatively young he entered the Polytechnic College of Philadelphia, and graduated from that institution shortly before he became twenty-one years of age.

At that time he had a fancy for engineering, and when he began life for himself, it was as a mining engineer in Western Virginia. He followed this business for two years, and then decided that the practice of medicine would be more in harmony with his tastes and inclinations.

Having reached this conclusion, he at once set about securing a thorough medical education, and in 1862, having previously devoted considerable time to reading medicine in connection with other work, he entered the medical department of the famous old Georgetown College of Georgetown, near Washington, D. C. After two years of hard study and attendance at the courses of lectures in this institution, he graduated in 1864.

He at once entered the Government military service as an assistant surgeon, and was assigned to hospital duty at Fortress Monroe. That the surgeons of the Union army rendered heroic services during this trying period of the war every one knows who knows anything of the history of that memorable struggle.

Dr. Brower was one of the surgeons



Western Engr. Pub. Co.

L. E. Holden

on duty in and about Fortress Monroe and Norfolk during this period, and he was afterward transferred to the Confederate capital, where he remained until mustered out of the service with the rank of captain in 1866.

Soon after this he was called to Howard Grove, to take the position of surgeon in charge of an institution established at that place under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau, for the care of sick, indigent and distressed negroes. He retained this position until 1868, when he was notified that he had been elected to the superintendency of the Eastern Asylum for the Insane, located at Williamsburg, Va.

This position was one which was calculated to afford him an admirable opportunity for giving close attention to the diseases of the nervous system,

in the study of which, notwithstanding the fact that he had been compelled to give most of his time to surgery, he had become deeply interested, and he accepted it, entering at once upon the discharge of his duties. He was married about this time to Miss Eliza Ann Shearer, a daughter of Col. A. W. Shearer, a prominent Pennsylvanian, and was accompanied by his young wife to his new field of labor. After managing the asylum at Williamsburg until 1875 in a highly successful and satisfactory manner, he concluded to engage in the general practice, and severing his connection with that institution, he came to Chicago to gain the prominence and reap the handsome rewards of professional labor, which his skill and ability merit.

H.

L. E. HOLDEN.

THERE are few men who combine the higher forms of business genius with scholarly culture and rare literary ability; fewer yet who, as a geologist, can analyze the products of the earth; as a keen, far-sighted business man, lay a hand upon nature, and take from her lap great riches and carry them into the markets of the world; and who, in the hours of rest that follow can, with poetic pen and eloquent voice, take up again the themes of college and the school-room, and become again the poet,

and the man of letters—a many-sided man, who works in many and diverse fields, and finds in them all success. In a life that finds truthful description in the above words, some remarkable things are likely to occur; in the man of whom they are said, attributes out of the common run are sure to be discovered.

Of L. E. Holden even more than this may be written. Trained in the school-room for a scholastic life, his natural tastes are so set in that direction, that it seems strange he should

be drawn in any other. Yet there was an energy under all, that could not be content with the quiet of academic groves;—life he must see, and the world he most know for himself. While books, and the inspiration that comes to the true educator as he teaches others, could feed one side of his nature, it could not the other. He therefore became for the time an active figure in the great commercial work-field of the world;—a conspicuous one before long; and where so many were striving, he was one of the few who won success. And yet, as I know of personal knowledge, when he shall have completed certain measures he now has in hand, he will again become the man of letters, and pursue with a continued purpose, those lines of literary labor that have in recent years been but the pastimes of his leisure moments.

The qualities that have made Mr. Holden's life successful in various and varied fields, came to him by the right of natural descent;—fibers of the strong and lusty old England life, that ran through Puritan New England, into the vigorous mental and physical development of to-day. The name of that enduring monument of personal energy that Mr. Holden is building—the Hollenden House, of Cleveland,—recognizes the old name of the Holden family back in the Saxon times, as found in Domesday Book, made by William the Conqueror. His maternal ancestor, Isaac Stearns, came to Massachusetts in company with Gov. Winthrop, in 1630,

his paternal ancestors coming also from England four years later. He was born in the township of Raymond, county Cumberland, Maine, on June 20, 1834. While all the opportunities of culture and education offered the youths of this generation were not open to him, there was nothing in his life or surroundings but that was conducive to a vigorous and manly growth—it was a garden in which the noblest specimens of American manhood have been reared—"in New England at a period of our country's history when the air was full of memories of the Revolution, and high scholarship and statesmanship were the standards of honor which were presented to boys." The youth who was there nurtured, could hardly have a low ideal of life; and in the mind of this particular boy were set two high standards—the first, the possession of knowledge, and the second the manly character with which he believed that knowledge should be associated. Reared upon a farm, he willingly performed the labors that fell to the lot of all farmer's boys in those days while every spare moment was eagerly given to his books. The neighborhood was ransacked, every book that could be borrowed was read, while all his spare sixpences went towards the purchase of others. The best evidence of the use made of these years is the fact that he was teaching a common school when he was fifteen years of age; at eighteen he taught in a select school in a neighboring village; while at twenty-one he enter-

ed Waterville College, in Maine, now Colby University. He studied hard, and stood high in his class; while his literary faculty was thus early recognized by his election to the position of class poet. He had already recognized the fact that the best opportunity for men of his stamp lay in the opening west, and at the close of his sophomore year he proceeded to Ann Arbor, Michigan, where he was at once admitted upon presentation of his certificate of standing from Waterville. As he was compelled to pay his own way from the start, the lack of funds led him to teach for another year, while at the same time he kept on with his studies in the University. He held a position as teacher in one of the Ann Arbor minor schools, was examined at the close of each university term, thus keeping up with his classes, and at the same time earning enough to carry him through the last two years of his college life. He graduated in 1858, and was not long in finding a position. Kalamazoo College, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, was seeking a professor of rhetoric and English literature, and upon the recommendation of the faculty of Ann Arbor, Mr. Holden was elected to the position. He remained there for three years, studying as well as teaching, and fitting himself in many ways for the labors of the future. In 1861 he was tendered the position of superintendent of the public schools of Tiffin, Ohio, which he accepted. He remained there for one year, and in 1862 he removed to Cleveland, Ohio,

for the purpose of completing the study of law, which he had already commenced while at Kalamazoo. He entered the law office of Hon. J. P. Bishop, and was admitted to practice in 1863.

As Mr. Holden was about to devote himself to the active practice of his profession, the great opportunity for profitable investment in the East End of Cleveland attracted his attention, and he devoted himself for some years with great success to the buying and selling of real estate. He made his home in that portion of the city, and was from the first prominently identified with its public interests. He was for nearly a decade member of the East Cleveland Board of Education, and for eight years its president; in which position he exerted great influence for the extending and improvement of the public school system. In the extension of other public improvements to that section—gas, water, better streets, and fire and police protection, he made his influence felt, and during all the time of his residence in Cleveland has been one of its most public spirited citizens.

Mr. Holden's scientific knowledge of geology and of engineering, diverted him into yet another field of labor, in which he eventually won most magnificent results. In 1873 he became interested in certain iron mines in the Lake Superior region, and became manager for the since famous Pittsburg and Lake Angeline mines. The property had heretofore been a losing investment, but under Mr. Holden's

scientific management, combined with his keen business sense, it soon became one of the best paying mines in that section of the country. In 1874 he became also interested in mines in Utah near Salt Lake city. He gave his attention thereto with all his energy, developing what was known as the "Old Telegraph" group of mines, building large furnaces, concentrating, and leashing works, and soon becoming one of the largest operators in that portion of the west. It was here that the bulk of his fortune was made, and secured for him greater wealth than he had ever dreamed of possessing. He became known not only as a great mine-owner, but exerted, in Utah as in the east, a wide local influence, and soon became one of the best known men in the territory. In 1882 he was selected by the Utah Mine Protective Association, as a delegate to Washington, to represent their interests before Congress, and, as has been truthfully said, "by his efforts more than by those of any other man, the great mining interests of the west were saved from ruin, which would inevitably have come by the then proposed reduction of the tariff."

In 1885 he again acted as a delegate to Washington, to the National Bi-Metallic Association, and was made the chairman of its executive committee. While Cleveland is his home, he has spent a great deal of time in Utah since 1874, where he has made his influence felt in many ways for the public good. "He never forgets

that out of the schools and the training which the country had given to him were the sources of his happiness and prosperity, and therefore has always been willing to give of his time and money for the support of institutions of learning. He is President of Salt Lake Academy, an institution which was started at his house and established by himself and his friends, and which to-day is doing a great and good work in the reformation of that country." In Cleveland, Mr. Holden is yet, as in the past, deeply interested in the cause of general education, being a trustee of Adelbert College and Western Reserve University, and a member of a number of literary and charitable associations. He takes an especial interest in the technical and manual training schools, "believing," as has been said, "that boys and girls should be trained to the love of labor, and to be producers instead of consumers in the world's economy."

Mr. Holden, in recent years, has thoroughly identified himself with the general interests of Cleveland, and through his great capital and still greater energy, has had a wonderful influence upon its material prosperity. The immense hotel, the Hollenden, he has erected upon Superior street, is one of the largest and finest buildings in the country, and in its erection Mr. Holden has taken a personal pride and interest far in excess of the material results to be obtained therefrom. His recent purchase of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, and its enlargement and improvement to one of the best dailies

in the country, and one of the most powerful among the exponents of Democratic principles, is another evidence of the deep interest in the city's welfare, and the use he makes of his capital in the advance of the general good ; and it is thought that it will be through this channel Mr. Holden will again take up the literary labors so dear to him, and for which he is so well qualified. Although he has as yet made but little use of his pen in its columns, it is known to the inner few that a number of the best of the literary contributions that have recently appeared in its pages, have been his, although he has modestly refused to come before the public in his own name.

Mr. Holden's industry is of the most active character, and no one works with a more determined effort than he ; and while singular good fortune seems to accompany his efforts, he is untiring in his determination to do what he undertakes to. He is a member of the Congregational Church, liberal in his religious and political views, but a strong believer in the democracy of Jefferson, and the largest liberty to the individual compatible with social and civil order. He believes in the city for business, but in the country for home,

and for the nurture and growth of children, and to that end during nearly all of his life in Cleveland, he has made a home in the outskirts of the city, where, when the work of the day was over, he could enjoy the society of his family and his books.

Mr. Holden could not have accomplished what he already has, without a far-seeing business genius combined with an intense industry. He is always busy, and enjoys his work ; active, pushing, and enthusiastic in the pursuit of the measure upon which he is for the time engaged. No work is too hard for him ; and when at his western mines he dons a suit of working clothes and goes down among the miners, where he often remains days at a time, taking his meals with the rest, and undergoing all the hardships of a mining life. He has a perfect mastery of detail, and touches no subject that he does not thoroughly master ; a clear thinker, a brilliant reasoner, and an eloquent speaker, he certainly would have made his mark in any field of labor he might have chosen ; and as he has accomplished much while yet a comparatively young man, still greater things may be expected in the enlarged opportunities and mature wisdom of the future.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Washington, D. C., in December, was one of the most interesting and fruitful of the stated gatherings of that great body. It opened on December 28th in the lecture room of the National Museum. Among those present were President Charles K. Adams of Cornell University, who took the chair; the Hon. John Jay of New York; John F. King, President of the New York Historical Society; Dr. Justin Winsor of Cambridge, Massachusetts; Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, Gen. James Grant Wilson, New York; Horatio King, Washington; Gen. George W. Cullom, William F. Poole, Chicago; Senator Hoar, President Gallaudet, of Washington, Judge Chamberlain of Boston, and Gen. Charles Darling of Utica N. Y.

SEVERAL interesting papers were read in the first session, and in the evening, at the Columbian University, President Charles K. Adams of Ithaca delivered the inaugural address. He took for his subject "The Recent Advancement of Historical Studies in the Colleges and Universities of America and Europe." He said in part:

"It is about thirty years since the first attempt was made to change the teaching of history in America from the hard and dry text-book method that had formerly prevailed. Before that time history was left to the exhausted energies of some member of the Faculty who was already overworked in other directions. The first real advance that was made was when Prof. Andrew D. White, fresh from his studies in France and Germany, entered upon his duties in the Chair of History at the University of Michigan in 1857. It was ten years after this when the

first real advance was made at Harvard and Yale. Soon after the accession of President Eliot in Cambridge the Chair of History was divided, and from that day to this there has been steady development. At the present time seven professors and teachers are employed and eighteen courses are offered. At Yale the first advance was made in 1868, when Professor Wheeler was appointed, and this was followed a few years later by the division of the chair and the appointment of a Professor of American History. At present the work at Yale is done by two professors, who offer six courses extending through the year. Cornell was the first University in this country to give to American history the entire services of a professor. To such a chair Prof. Moses Colt Tyler was called in 1881. At present four professors and subordinate teachers of history are employed at Cornell and eleven courses are given, of which three are seminaries, conducted in the spirit of original research. At Johns Hopkins the plan from the first has been to encourage the work of graduate students. Owing partly to the excellence of the instruction, partly to the plan of organization, partly, also, to the method of publishing whatever good thing is produced, the work of the University has been especially prosperous. At present four teachers are employed and about forty graduate students are in attendance. Important as these advances are, however, we find that in Europe even greater progress has been made. In the great English universities, where twenty years ago there was no independent course, now twenty professors and teachers are engaged in teaching history alone. But it is on the continent that the most noteworthy advances have been made.

Here everywhere the spirit of Germany has been dominant. It was about 1880 when the young historian Ranke conceived the idea of applying to historical teaching the methods that had already been applied by Wolfe, in philology. The result was the establishment of the historical seminary, an institution the purpose of which was to carry into the study of history those scientific methods of investigation which the historians themselves had long since learned to adopt. Ranke's example has been followed by all the important schools of Germany, and indeed of the other countries of Continental Europe. Each university has what may be called its historical laboratory in which the advance work of instruction and research is carried on. These methods, moreover, have recently been brought into successful use in Holland, Belgium, and particularly in Italy."

THE following officers were elected by the Association for the ensuing year: President, John Jay of New York; first vice-president, Wm. Wirt Henry of Richmond, Virginia; second vice-president, James B. Angell, President of the University of Michigan; treasurer, Clarence Winthrop Bowen of New York; Secretary, Herbert B. Adams of Johns Hopkins University; assistant secretary and curator (a new office), A. Howard Clarke of the National Museum.

THE following is extracted from a letter received by General Darling, whose papers on "Versions of the Bible" now being published in this Magazine, from Mr. Abram Cassel, owner of the famous Cassel Library, at Harleysville:

"I am very much interested in the articles entitled 'Versions of the Bible' which appear in the August, September, October, November and December issues of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY. I have in my library a few rare bibles, and claim to know something about biblical literature. In the articles above named, however, are contained many facts which heretofore have not come under

my observation, and they are intensely interesting. Will they not be published, as a whole, when the series is completed? I am exceedingly anxious to possess a copy, if one can ever be obtained."

The compiler of this material is in no haste to terminate this difficult work which he has undertaken, not for pecuniary benefit, but for the advantage of those persons who may be interested in the subject. The length of the papers, and their continuance, will largely depend upon information received from the librarians of the great libraries of Europe and the United States, and from individuals.

THE annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was held in the capitol, at Madison, on the evening of January 2d, 1890. In the absence of the president, Hon. John A. Rice, of Hartland, vice-president Simeon Mills occupied the chair. The report of the executive committee was presented by the secretary, Reuben G. Thwaites. Extended extracts are given, because of the unusual interest that attaches to the work of the society during the past year. The report spoke in enthusiastic terms of the growth of society, in its several departments, and said that the year just past was one of the most prosperous in its history. There has been a marked increase in the popular appreciation and use of the library, in keeping with the advance of culture in the state; more and more scholars from other states, engaged in special research, have sought its alcoves; it is also resorted to by increasingly large bodies of state university students, who recognize it as a literary laboratory, indispensable to good work in that institution. The museum and art gallery retain their hold upon public esteem, probably 40,000 persons having visited the collections there displayed within the past twelve months. With the passage of each year, the society's work broadens, its reputation extends, the spirit of historical inquiry spreads, and the correspondence of the institution fast grows in bulk; until the mere answering of questions, from corres-

pondents both within and without the state, regarding Wisconsin—its history, statistics, resources, etc.—has become no inconsiderable part of the manifold duties of the secretary. The report called attention to the death within the year of three prominent members who assisted in organizing the society, January 29th, 1849—Nelson Dewey, first president of the society, David Atwood, long a vice-president, and Mortimer M. Jackson, one of the curators. Ex-Governor Farrell, of Missouri, and Cyrus Woodman, of Massachusetts, both of them efficient in the early days of the organization, when they were citizens of this state, also passed away in 1889; as did Hon. A. B. Braley, a curator, Prof. William F. Allen, one of the library committee, and Isabel Durrie, for nearly twenty years the library cataloguer. A feeling tribute is paid in the report to Miss Durrie's character and services.

THE financial condition of the society was commented upon in detail. The binding fund now amounts to \$20,000 in interest-bearing securities, while some \$3,000 more are in sight. A plea was uttered for the antiquarian fund: The general fund consisting of the annual state appropriation of \$5,000, is spoken of as insufficient for the needs of the institution. The library accessions foot up a grand total of 5,234, making the present strength of the library 133,727. The list of exceptionally important books received in 1889, given in the report, is a comprehensive one. The department of political science now numbers 2,109 volumes; war of secession and slavery, 1,865; genealogy and heraldry, 1,172; bound newspaper files, 5,847; British and American patent reports, 4,971; Shakespeariana, 903; maps and atlases, 1,073; American war of the revolution, 1,266.

THE secretary's search for old manuscripts, at Kaukauna, Green Bay, Butte de Morts and other points, among the French fur-traders and their descendants, was continued

last summer, and some unexpected finds were made. Letter-books, diaries, memoranda, fur-trade account books and letters, illustrative of early Wisconsin history, were picked up in considerable numbers, thus greatly adding to the extent and value of the priceless collections previously made and now bound in 100 stout folio volumes. Excellent progress is reported in the investigation being conducted by the secretary in behalf of the society, in conjunction with the historical department of the state university, into the origin and status of the several foreign groups in Wisconsin. Thousands of circular letters have been sent out within the past eighteen months, and to the most of them intelligent answers have been received. Some of the local reports, in fact, are comprehensive and worthy of the separate publication which will probably be given them when the time comes for presenting the results of the investigation. The committee's report gives several interesting general facts that have been deduced from the testimony already in. The statement is made that "Wisconsin probably contains a greater variety of foreign groups than any other American state." Many of these groups occupy entire townships and control within them all political, educational and religious affairs. But the process of assimilation appears to be, on the whole, reasonably rapid and satisfactory. "New customs, new manners, new blood are being introduced by the colonists from across seas, and as a rule these are worthy of adoption and absorption."

THE triennial election of officers followed the presentation and adoption of the various reports, with the following results: President—Hon. John Johnston, Milwaukee. Vice-presidents—Hon. Harlow S. Orton, LL. D., Madison; Hon. James T. Lewis, LL. D., Columbus; Hon. James Sutherland, Janesville; Chauncey C. Britt, Portage; Hon. John H. Rountree, Platteville; Hon. Simeon Mills, Madison; Hon. John F. Potter, East Troy; Samuel Marshall, Milwaukee; Hon. John T.

Kingston, Necedah; Hon. Moses M. Strong, Mineral Point; Hon. Charles L. Colby, Milwaukee; Hon. J. J. Guppy, Portage; Hon. Philetus Sawyer, Oshkosh; Prof. James D. Butler, Madison; and Hon. Gysbert Van Steenwyck, La Crosse. Honorary vice-presidents—F. L. Billon, Missouri; Robert Clarke, Ohio; Benson J. Lossing, LL. D., New York; Wm. H. Wyman, Ohio; Charles Fairchild, Massachusetts; Col. Stephen V. Shipman, Illinois; Hon. Amasa Cobb, Nebraska; Col. Reuben T. Durrett, Kentucky; Samuel M. Hunt, New Jersey; Simon Gratz, Pennsylvania; Francis Parkman, LL. D., Massachusetts; Bishop Wm. Stevens Perry, Iowa, and Hon. Luther S. Dixon, Colorado. Corresponding secretary—Reuben G. Thwaites. Recording secretary—Elisha Burdick. Treasurer—Frank F. Proudft. Librarian—Daniel S. Durrie. The following curators were elected: Term ending in 1893—Gen. Lucius Fairchild, J. H. Carpenter, LL. D., Hon. Breese J. Stevens, Maj. Frank W. Oakley, William A. P. Morris, Wayne Ramsey, Alexander H. Main, Maj. Charles G. Mayers, Hon. M. R. Doyon, Prof. William H. Rosenstengel, Prof. Frederick J. Turner and Prof. Albert O. Wright. To fill vacancies in term ending in 1892—Rev. Dr. William A. McAtee and Rev. Joseph H. Crooker. To fill vacancy in term ending in 1891—Rasmus B. Anderson, LL. D.

THE petition for the removal of the remains of Joel Barlow to America, to which reference was made last month, has been pushed not only by the Connecticut Historical Society, but has received the endorsement of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, the Fairchild County Historical Society, and from thirty-two members of the Authors Club of New York. The petition has been laid before Congress by Representative Miles of Connecticut. Barlow bore a musket in Continental ranks at the battle of White Plains, though but a lad at the time. Later he was a chaplain, and wrote lyrics which did much to stimulate the troops. He was abroad during the French Revolution, and subsequent years, and when this nation be-

came embroiled with the French Directory he exerted himself to bring about a better feeling between the two countries. He also went to Algiers, at the risk of his life from the plague, and secured the release of American captives there. The petition says:

"It is not creditable to a nation of sixty millions that the remains of so distinguished a citizen, dying in its service, should be left to fill an unhonored grave, and as it is the custom of this country to remove hither the remains of its servants dying abroad, your petitioners pray your honorable body that the remains of Joel Barlow be removed to this country, and be decently interred where Congress shall direct, their preference being for the winter quarters of Putnam's Division, in Barlow's native town of Redding, Connecticut, where some of his comrades-in-arms lie buried, said winter quarters being now the property of the state of Connecticut, and having been fitted up by the State at an expense of nearly \$25,000, to be held as a memorial ground forever."

THE annual reports of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (at Cincinnati) have come to hand, and show a condition of general prosperity. C. W. Lord, the librarian, reports that 6,339 contributions have been received to the library, from 143 sources, in bound volumes, pamphlets, newspapers, maps, etc. Mr. A. H. Chatfield gives a statement of finances, and adds that five members have died during the year: W. H. Allen, life member; W. H. Chatfield, life member; Stanley Matthews, life member; Jacob Burnett, corporate member; F. Lunkenheimer, corporate member.

Number of corporate members, December 1, 1888.....	122
Elected during the year.....	36
	158
Resignations.....	2
Deaths of corporate members.....	2
Dropped.....	2
	6
Number corporate members, Dec. 1, 1889,.....	152
Number of life members.....	20
Number of honorary members.....	5
Number of corresponding members....	11

MR. BANCROFT'S UTAH AND MORMONISM.

"THE WORKS OF HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, VOL. XXVI., HISTORY OF UTAH, 1540-1886." The History Company, publishers, San Francisco, 1889. Received from F. M. Derby, Agent, 149 Church street, New York.

Public expectation and Mr. Bancroft's purposes have met, at least in one feature of this book. It was hoped that when he reached the Territory of Utah in his universal history of the farther west of the Pacific basin, he would not confine himself to the range of events transpiring within the actual territorial borders, but would begin with the beginnings of Mormonism, and trace the earlier as well as the later history of that church which laid the foundations of Utah, and has so far controlled its chief affairs. This he has done in a work that,—more from its literary structure than from any declaration of sentiment, will be regarded by many anti-Mormon readers and reviewers, as leaning altogether too near the Mormon side. He has substantially followed the lines of history as laid down in the records of the church, placing beneath it, in foot notes so copious that in very many instances they outmeasure the text, the same story as related again and again by the anti-Mormon writers from Howe and Kidder to Codman and Beers. There has been a three-fold temptation to treat Mormonism from this standpoint: The fact that few outside the Mormon church have written fairly of the church; the dawning impression that Mormonism outside of polygamy may have been misunderstood by this generation, and will be considered more calmly by the next; and, above all, the mine of information opened thereby within the church. Upon expectation, or from assurance, the authorities of

the church were constrained to the belief that Mr. Bancroft intended to produce a work that would do them as substantial justice as could be expected from any writer not biased by a belief in the divine mission and authority of the church, and consequently placed within his command all the church records, printed and unprinted, that he desired to use. The value of this aid can be appreciated only by those who have endeavored to weave a compact and complete history of the church from the data procurable outside. "The materials for Mormon church history," says Mr. Bancroft in his introduction, "are exceptionally full. Early in his career the first President appointed a historiographer, whose office has been continuous ever since. To his people he himself gave their early history, both the inner and intangible, and the outer and material portions of it. Then missionaries to different posts were instructed to make a record of all pertinent doings, and lodge the same in the church archives. A sacred obligation seems to have been implied in this respect from the beginning. . . . And save in the matters of spiritual manifestations, which the merely secular historian cannot follow, and in speaking of their enemies, whose treatment we must admit, in too many instances has been severe, the church records are truthful and reliable."

The thirty pages occupied in presenting a list of the authorities consulted in the preparation of this work, give us some hint of the great labor required in that preparation. As in other works of this series, the author goes back to the very beginning of the history of the land upon which Utah grew—the discoveries and achievements of the Spainards in

that section of America, followed by the advent of the traveler and the trapper, down to the Pacific Coast immigrations of 1845 and 1846. We are then carried eastward, and back to 1820, when Joseph Smith was entering upon that career which opened so humbly, and was attended by such remarkable events. From Harmony and Palmyra, the reader is taken on to Kirtland, Independence, Far West and Nauvoo; the Prophet's death is followed by the expulsion from "the city beautiful" and the passing of the reins of power to Brigham Young; the long and trying marches across the wilderness, the founding of Salt Lake, its subsequent power and prosperity. The final eighteen chapters are devoted to the actual history of Utah as it stands to-day, the eight preceding covering solely the record of the early church.

While there are many points upon which men can honestly take issue with this latest Mormon historian, as to his method of treatment and conclusions, it must be conceded that we have here the only history of the church from the beginning to the present, that has yet been presented. While the arrangement of the Mormon and anti-Mormon statements side by side is unique and of great value to the careful reader of history, it leaves much to the reader to deduce for himself, and he is compelled to continually act as judge between the two. There will be sharp attacks upon some of the conclusions, notably in the chapters covering the Mormon troubles of Missouri and Illinois. While it is true that too many writers have laid upon the Mormons more than their share of blame for the wrongs and bloodshed of those days, it is going too far to the other extreme to lay the greater share of that blame upon gentile shoulders. Some inferences of the historian in this con-

nection are rather startling; for instance (p. 172), we are told that Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois, was "rather *above* the average politician usually chosen among these American states to fill that position,"—while in the succeeding sentences he is described as "not specially clear-headed," "having no brain power to spare," "in no sense a strong man," "small in mind," etc. To those who have seen the manner of men sent to the gubernatorial chair of "these American states" of the middle west at this period—Jeremiah Morrow, Allen Trimble, Duncan McArthur, Robert Lucas, Wilson Shannon, and Thomas Corwin of Ohio; Shadrach Bond, Edward Gales, Ninian Edwards, John Reynolds, Joseph Duncan and Thomas Carlin,—the immediate predecessors of Governor Ford of Illinois; and such men as were called in the early days of Indiana, Kentucky, and Michigan, this setting them beneath the grade of qualities ascribed to Governor Ford, will be resented as a careless error, or an intentional thrust at the average intelligence of the people. It is to be regretted that those engaged in the laborious study and collation of all these records did not glean more, here and there, of the personal life of Joseph Smith, for his was one of the most remarkable careers ever granted an American, and all possible light should be gathered and thrown thereon.

These, however, are but minor points, and can be excused with others of the same character, in view of the great service performed in collecting the immense mass of information in these eight hundred pages.

It must not be concluded that it comprise a history of the Mormon church alone, as chapters are devoted to the general history of Utah, the development of its material resources, territorial politics, etc.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

"FACT, FANCY, AND FABLE: A NEW HANDBOOK FOR READY REFERENCE ON SUBJECTS COMMONLY OMITTED FROM CYCLOPEDIAS, ETC." Compiled by Henry Frederic Reddall. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

Mr. Reddall has apparently worked diligently and for many years, in a field not extensively searched heretofore, and has gathered a very valuable mass of information of an out-of-the-way character. The history of grotesque but common expressions, popular phrases, queer definitions, etc., has been sought out, and recorded. In explanation of the title, the author says: "Approximately, our Fact embraces Americanisms, memorable days, pseudonyms, political nomenclature, foreign words and sentences, and contractions and abbreviations; Fancy deals with personal sobriquets and nicknames of all kinds, and with familiar phrases and folks-sayings; while the realm of the purely mythological belongs to Fable."

The author further states that while he does not claim to have made as complete a list of these names, sayings and phrases as he perhaps might have done, he "indulges in the modest hope," that he has gathered much that has never been before collated. For instance, none of the works of reference heretofore have given the history of such phrases as "the legislature of a thousand drinks," "between the devil and the deep sea," "Angel Gabriel Riots," "Gladstone's umbrella," "spellbinders," "Nigger in the Woodpile," "Cain of America," "gossamer days," "California column," "Cockerel clubs," and many others. The explanations and definitions given are plainly and tersely

expressed, and a great deal of valuable information has been crowded into these five hundred and more pages. The work is one that supplements the dictionary and cyclopedias, and should be among the reference books of every library.

"ESSAYS IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE FORMATIVE PERIOD, 1775-1789." By graduates and former members of the Johns Hopkins University. Edited by J. Franklin Jameson Ph. D., late associate in the Johns Hopkins University, professor of history in Brown University. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

A statement of the table of contents of this collection of later fruits from the careful sowing of the Johns Hopkins University, will present the main features of the work in the fewest words: "The Predecessor of the Supreme Court," by the editor, with a note; "The model of the Federal Court for Territorial disputes;" "The Movement towards a Second Constitutional Convention in 1788," by Edward P. Smith, Ph. D., professor in the Worcester Polytechnic Institute; "The Development of the Executive Departments," by Jay Caesar Guggenheimer, A. B.; "The period of constitution-making in the American Churches," by Wm. P. Trent M. A., professor in the University of the South, and "The Status of the Slave, 1775-1789," by Jeffrey R. Brackett, Ph., D.

These five essays, which treat of subjects within the field of our constitutional history during a brief but important period, are grouped together, "not only by a community of subjects," but also "by a common purpose and a common origin." Outside of this histori-

cal connection, the authors declare that they wish by this volume, "to commemorate their common connection with the Johns Hopkins University, a connection from which they graetfully acknowledge themselves to have received expansive and stimulative influences of the highest value." The historical value of these essays, chiefly, lies in the fact that they show that our constitution and departments of government did not come into being at once, but were the results of experience and experiments, and grew out of things that had gone before. They are admirably selected and arranged in order, as showing the successive steps taken by the young nation along a new and perilous road. We have here, in brief, a history of the formative period of our government.

"THE STORY OF EMIN'S RESCUE, AS TOLD IN STANLEY'S LETTERS. (Published by Mr. Stanley's permission.)" Edited by J. Scott Keltie, librarian to the Royal Geographical Society, with map of the route. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York.

As one follows this authentic and thrilling story of Stanley's march through the wilds of Africa, with its attendant sufferings, losses, dangers, and heroisms, the old truth again returns to mind that fiction is not one half so wonderful as truth, and never so entertain-

ing. Given to the world at a time when the papers were full of Stanley's victorious return, and Emin's sufferings, the story of that rescue and its results was told for the first time, and naturally won wide-spread attention; the more so from the fact that it was related by Stanley himself. The value and interest of the book are increased by the fact that the letters have been arranged and edited by one most ably fitted for his task.

"AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, LOUISVILLE, KY." By Reuben T. Durrett, Filson Club Publications No. V. (Prepared for the Semi-Centennial Celebration, October 6, 1889.) John P. Morton & Co., Printers to the Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.

This complete record of one of the oldest among the leading churches of Kentucky, is another evidence of the effective historical work being performed by the Filson Club. The record of St. Paul's as here presented was prepared for the semi-centennial celebration of that church, that occurred on October 6th, 1889. It was too long to be read at that celebration, and was not so intended, but was very properly presented as No. 5 in the Filson publications. The story of the church is clearly and simply told. Several illustrations accompany it.

The first of the great principles of the American Revolution was the right of the people to alter or to abolish their government, and to institute a new one, when it became destructive of the ends for which it was established. This principle was the foundation of the Declaration of Independence, and it was the basis of the new government which was then formed. The second principle was the right of the people to be represented in their government. This principle was the basis of the new government, and it was the foundation of the new constitution. The third principle was the right of the people to be protected in their property. This principle was the basis of the new government, and it was the foundation of the new constitution. The fourth principle was the right of the people to be protected in their liberty. This principle was the basis of the new government, and it was the foundation of the new constitution. The fifth principle was the right of the people to be protected in their lives. This principle was the basis of the new government, and it was the foundation of the new constitution. The sixth principle was the right of the people to be protected in their families. This principle was the basis of the new government, and it was the foundation of the new constitution. The seventh principle was the right of the people to be protected in their religion. This principle was the basis of the new government, and it was the foundation of the new constitution. The eighth principle was the right of the people to be protected in their education. This principle was the basis of the new government, and it was the foundation of the new constitution. The ninth principle was the right of the people to be protected in their health. This principle was the basis of the new government, and it was the foundation of the new constitution. The tenth principle was the right of the people to be protected in their safety. This principle was the basis of the new government, and it was the foundation of the new constitution.

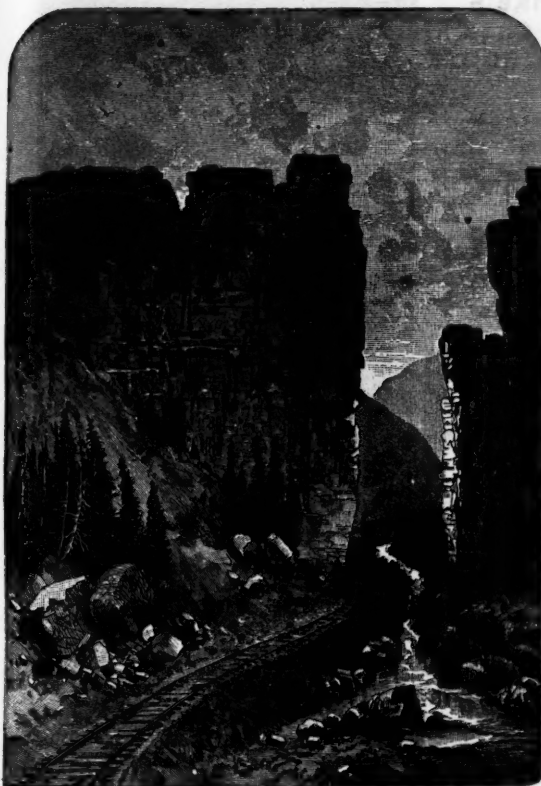


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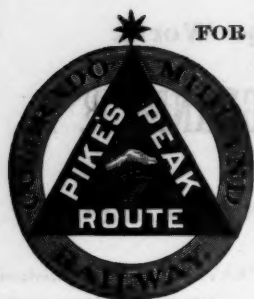
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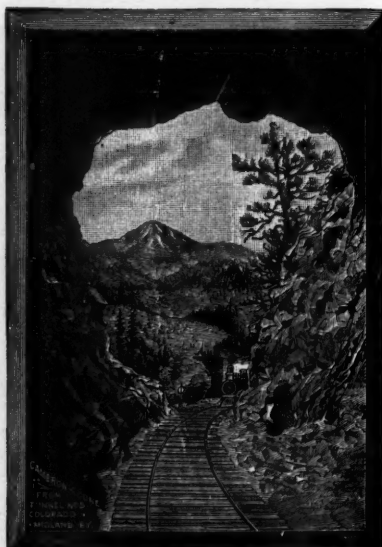
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